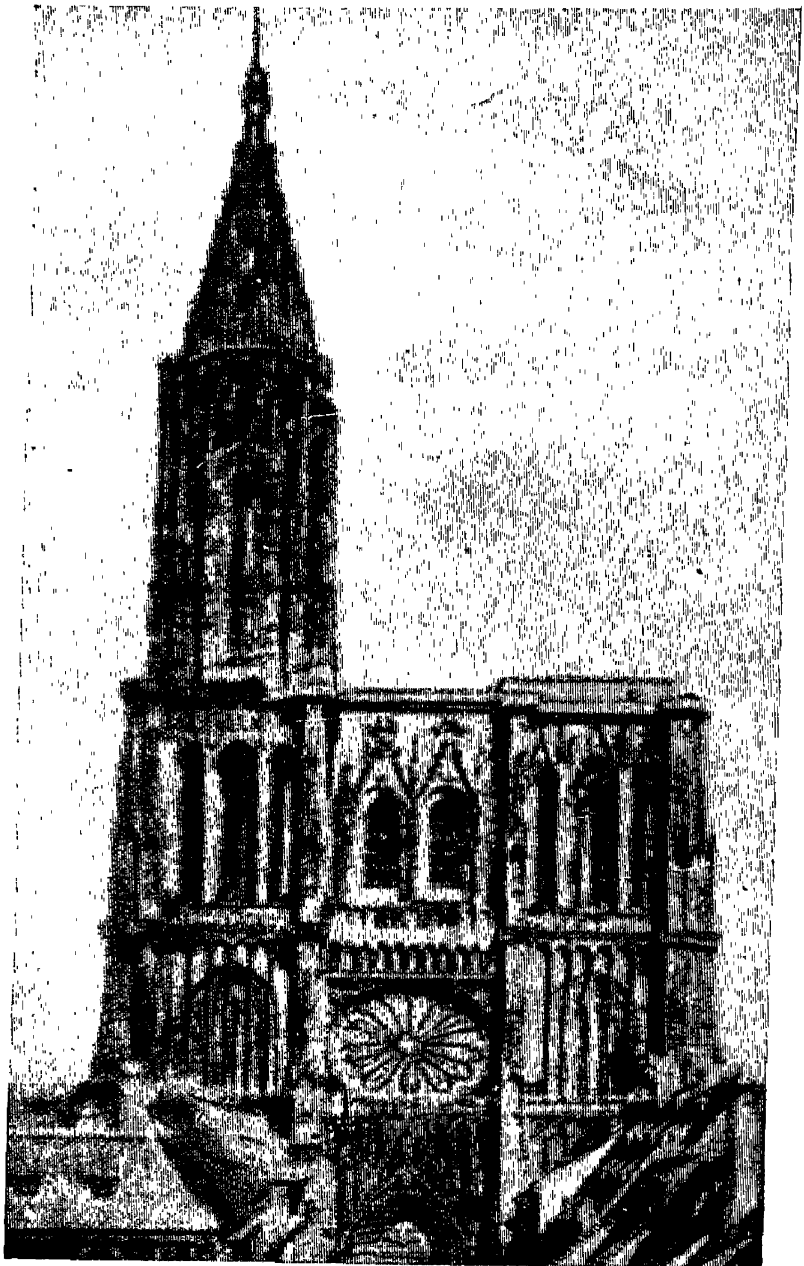


THE

GERMANS IN FRANCE



UNSER ELSASS WURDE DEUTSCH
("Our Alsace will be German.")

STRASBURG CATHEDRAL
From the *Mulhauser Tageblatt*, 31st
December, 1940

THE GERMANS IN FRANCE

by
JACQUES LORRAINE

"It is not a question of a strategic campaign, but of a struggle between two conceptions of the world, in which either the German or the Anglo-Saxon will prevail. These two concepts are reared in opposition and one must triumph."—WILLIAM II on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his accession.

Translated by
A. G. CERISIER-DUVERNOY

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FIRST PART

THE ADVENT OF AN IDOL

"A new and essentially national political doctrine has evolved in Germany since HERDER taught us that all peoples do not possess the same right to happiness. . ."

HENRI VON TREITSCHKE: *The Political Kingdom of the Anti-Machiavelli*, 1887.

A NEW ideological theory had slowly been evolved and crystallized in German Thought by her philosophers of two centuries ago—Herder, Schelling, Schlegel, Fichte and Humboldt.

By writing for the intelligentsia they had gathered an increasing number of proselytes from the better class, and had even aspired to gain support from the State. When this was not forthcoming, the devotees of the doctrine attempted a *coup d'état*, which culminated in defeat and bloodshed.

Now in the XXth century it had reappeared under a different guise, disseminated by a new disciple, Joseph Goebbels, who aimed at stirring the masses by more easily assimilable propaganda:

"We have simplified German thought and restored to it the original primitive formulae, presenting in the most lucid terms the complex processes of economic and political life.

"We have extracted the essential elements from facts formerly within the reach of only a minority of specialists and experts, diffusing them in the streets, hammering them into the brains of the average individual, and presenting them in such a way that even the most primitive mind is able to grasp them.*

The second attempt at hegemony was more successful, and this time the existing State was superseded by the new doctrine of the VOLK or "the German people," the idol which had taken shape two centuries before, and with which every man now identified himself.

Thus the Third Reich was established.

The VOLK is the people, the tribe, the people-nation, including all men of the same blood, whatever their nationality, opinion or habitat. It is an independent entity, having its own life, thriving or waning in accordance with particular laws. Members of the same VOLK who have been scattered in several countries by the vicissitudes of circumstances are nevertheless linked by common biological characters, in the same way that all tigers are tigers, whether they inhabit Siberia, Java, or the Indian forest.

It was Herder (1744–1803) who first presented a clear conception of the VOLK, calling it "a plant of Nature, a living organic force."

"There is" [he wrote] "a living organic force, and I know neither its origin or its essence, but it indubitably exists, is a living force and creates organic units within the chaos of homogeneous matter."

According to him, the life of man is organized in conformity with the laws of Nature, each VOLK possessing distinct and particular characteristics, exemplified by the manifestation of national traits. Consequently, each VOLK contains its most perfect type, apart from comparison with that of others. The VOLK thus endowed possesses a soul, qualified by Herder as "the source of all earthly knowledge."

The place of the individual is determined by the heritage bequeathed to him

*Goebbels: *Wesen und Gestalt des National Sozialismus*. Berlin, 1935.

by the VOLK, "the people's community"—thus we find in the dawning philosophy which served as the foundations of the Third Reich the very words it has made famous.

Herder represents mankind as being linked by the spiritual Genesis of Education, to his parents, masters and friends, and deriving from his people and ancestors, for no one man alone has reached the status of independence.

The same idea was developed by Schlegel (1772-1829), who contends that the more ancient, pure and unblended the race, the more it will tend to have national customs, and the more it has national customs and loyalty towards these, the more will it tend to form a nation.

Perhaps the most concise definition was propounded by Fichte (1762-1814), in his Sixth Address to the German people:

"Is there a noble spirit who does not hope by action and thought to sow for the race the seeds of infinite and ever-progressive movement? What guarantee has the superior mind that its works will endure for all time? It can only lie in the state of things it considers to be eternal, and that state does exist. It is the very soul of human collectivity from which it has sprung, it is the people from whom it has derived."

The definition of a people, in the higher sense of the word, a sense it has if we are willing to admit the reality of a spiritual world, is—"the totality of men who live in common through the ages, perpetuating themselves without adulteration, either physical or moral, according to God's particular plan of development."

For Fichte, incidentally, a consequence of this axiom is that the French possess an ego not due to their own evolution, but born from universal consent. The Germans, by contrast, possess a metaphysical ego, for Germany is the only nation which has maintained its purity. Hegel (1770-1831), for a number of years professor in the University of Berlin, explains this in his *Philosophy of History*.

"The countries which had hitherto been incorporated in the Roman Empire were destined to be subjected to barbarians. Thus arose a marked contrast between the already half-civilized inhabitants and their victors, which resulted in the birth of hybrid nations. Germany took great care to prevent any blending of races, except in the stretch of territory bordering the Danube and the Rhine on her Southern and Western frontiers. The district between the Elbe and the Rhine remaining purely indigenous."

He also maintained that the State is based upon the VOLK, and that the VOLK, considered as a State, is the spirit in a material, rational and tangible form, hence its unrestricted powers on earth.

How is it possible to distinguish between members of the same VOLK, for they are linked by the same blood? Joseph Gorres, Professor of History in the University of Munich after the Napoleonic wars, originated the idea of Blood-links, thanks to which the VOLK becomes an organic being. "The most fatal error for a people," he says, "is to surrender its biological character," a theme also elaborated by Rosenberg, when he indicts as *Rassenschande* (crime against the race) a marriage contracted with any person of different blood from the tribe.

Since the VOLK is endowed with a life of its own, the ideal State is that which gathers together all the members of the same VOLK, so that the life of the State becomes, *ipso facto*, organic.

To quote Schelling (1775-1854), the last of the great philosophers of the Romantic school: "The State is a being in itself, having its own life and its own existence (*ein selbständig für sich bestehendes Individuum*). It has its particular

character, and governs according to its laws, habits and customs."* He defines metaphysics as follows: "That which results in the production of States, and enables a mass of human beings to realize the union of heart and mind, thereby becoming a VOLK."

Thus through a long trend of thought, the concept of the biological state including all individuals of the same blood was developed in Germany, a theory directly in antithesis to that of the political and juridical State which groups individuals of the same persuasions.

The perfect State being that which embraced all members of the same blood, it was essential as a preliminary to ascertain who they were. Once traced, the only remaining problem was to create a State to include them all. In this way the Pan-Germanic movement came to life, whose name clearly explained its aims, which were namely: to assemble all Germans, or rather all men of German blood, in one model State. In Schlegel's own words, "the Pan-Germanic State."

It is the obligation of the State to ensure that no member becomes impoverished through the cross-breeding which occurred in the course of history, as Otto Richard Tannenberg expounds in his work *Greater Germany*, 1906:

"Numerous and considerable German tribes have disappeared in the time of German invasions, the Cimbri, Teutons, Vandals, Aleins, Suevi, Ostrogoths and Visigoths, Lombards and Franks from the West. They have increased the number of our foes, and instilled into the decadent Roman race fresh blood, prolonging it for another thousand years.

"The military and landed aristocracies of Germany have imparted to the Romanic peoples a new inner homogeneity, but the violent upheavals of the late XVIIth century and of the middle of the XIXth have deprived that aristocracy of its leadership, and almost reduced it to a negligible quantity."

We shall often trace in the Nazi Press, after the downfall of France, the same idea developed upon almost identical lines. After the Great War, the ideologists of National Socialism adopted Herder's theories. Alfred Rosenberg, the best known, in his abstruse *Myth of the XXth Century*, illustrates at length the theme that the VOLK prospers or declines inasmuch as it maintains its blood unadulterated, or debases it by cross-breeding.

Concurrently the politicians pursued the tasks of the Pan-Germanists. The common characteristics of the people, the blood-link, the organic nature of the State, the right it had to unite any members of the same VOLK, the submission of the individual to the community, without which he would not be what he is, and to the State—the aegis of all men of the same blood, all these theories became propaganda slogans and served political purposes.

This policy, consisting of 25 clauses, published on 24 February 1920 in Munich, begins with the following words:

"We ask for the union of all Germans, in order to constitute a Greater Germany on the foundation of the right of the people to self-government." The commentaries which accompany this programme make it perfectly clear how the expression "all Germans" should be interpreted. Prepared by Gottfried Feder, under Hitler's orders, and revised by himself in 1927, they declare:

"All individuals of German blood, even though living at present under Danish, Polish, Czech, Italian or French sovereignty, must be united in a single German Reich. It has often happened that the best, the most capable Germans with the characteristics of the Vikings, have gone forth in the world to impart their culture. They belong to the great German racial family which must not and cannot be lost."

* *Philosophische Vorlesungen aus den Jahren, 1804 bis 1806.*

For the first time in history Herder's philosophy was promoted to a State doctrine on the day that Hitler seized power. Although a Socialist becoming a Cabinet Minister does not necessarily remain a Socialist, a Nazi, on the other hand, rising to chancellorship could be none other than a Nazi Chancellor, on that point one could be certain.

"We believe in the eternal value of race and blood, and we ourselves are conscious of being the appointed guarantors of such values among the German race in foreign lands.

"The Führer had to come to impress upon us all the idea that a German cannot choose, and has no right to choose whether he will or will not be a German, but that he has been sent by God to this world as a German. As a consequence, God has entrusted to him the performance of German duties, which he cannot shirk without being guilty of treachery towards Providence. Therefore, we know and believe that a German is everywhere a German, whether he lives in the Reich, in Japan, France or China, or anywhere else in the world. It is not the countries or continents, not the climate or environment, but blood and race that inspire the ideology of a German."

Thus spoke Rudolph Hess at the Nuremberg Congress, 13 September 1936.

The Nazis themselves are no dupes, knowing that they have borrowed from others the ideas they claim as their own. They know also that they have not invented methods to be applied, but that they have used those set forth by the Pan-Germanists of past centuries. They realize that Raymond Murphy, Manager of the European Section of the State Department of the U.S.A., Francis Stevens, Howard Trivers and Joseph Roland are justified when they write in *National Socialism*, published in 1942 by the same Department:

"The concepts on which the Nazi movement and the Third Reich are based have well-defined antecedents in certain trends of German political thought of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries.

"The Nazis have not created a new political ideology, but rather given a tangible form to the political aspirations of like doctrine-mongers and have applied them with ruthless methods from which all scruples are banished."

The worship of the blood is no new cult, but the Nazis have imbued the idol with a savage glamour by offering in sacrifice an ever-increasing number of victims. So far, its meteoric career has endured for two centuries, for 1944 saw the bicentenary of Herder's birth.

INTEGRAL GERMANY

"Heinrich Heine, after having predicted to the Germans that they would take Alsace and Lorraine from France, added, 'Not only Alsace and Lorraine, but the whole of France and Europe and the rescued world will be ours. . . . Yes, the whole world will be German. I have often pondered over this universal mission of Germany while I strolled under the evergreen firs of my Fatherland.'"

of Pan-Germanism.

CHARLES ANDLER: *The Origins*

At the end of the XIXth century Lamprecht had given to his country the name of Integral Germany.

In order to create this State, the Reich must be empowered to impose its will upon all those countries where German blood exists. In the opinion of

the author of *Krieg*,* the sword alone will settle the question of ways and means, an opinion which is shared by Fritz Lang. The latter exhorts his compatriots to remain "Warriors", for the migration of German races may not be an event merely in past history. He says:

"The peoples surrounding us, such as the Turks, Greeks, Spanish, Portuguese and the majority of Slavs, resemble over-ripe fruit to be shaken from the tree by the coming storm. The French brag proudly of their race, and though their culture is senile and over-refined, their reproduction artificially limited, yet they indulge in the most disproportionate ambition."[†]

Reimer, on the contrary, contends that war may not be necessary.

"Everything depends upon the submission of France" [he says, fearing that Germany may never reach the required military supremacy]. "I shall not embark upon a discussion of this point, observing merely that Germany and her leaders are obliged, whatever the means chosen, to achieve the end adumbrated by me, our vital interests demand it. It rests with our leaders to perfect the German Army, to endow it with the necessary strength as a weapon of victory, to achieve economic and ethnical unity which is imperative.

"I shall not attempt to prophesy the grouping of powers, it would be too dangerous—let everyone imagine as he will the development of events."[‡]

When the squabbles of the 1900 period are surveyed, one is reminded of their analogy with those which stirred Nazi circles after 1935. Rauschnigg, in his book *The Revolution of the Nihilists*, revises them in detail, recalling how the diehards of the Party were assured that France had ceased to be the real obstacle to Pan-Germanic schemes. "It will be sufficient to leave France quite alone, when she will reach such a degree of weakness that she will be confronted by the *fait accompli* with no possibility, let alone desire, to react."

These theorists evidently miscalculated, since Hitler in 1940 attacked France and not Russia. Whether France would capitulate or whether it would be necessary to have recourse to arms in order to subjugate countries where German blood exists, but which are not necessarily sympathetic to the Reich, was debatable.

Thus in order to build up Integral Germany the Reich would be forced to conquer territories inhabited by foreign races, so that finally the Universal German Empire would include:

- (1) Germanic countries or countries peopled by a kindred race;
- (2) Non-Germanic countries;
- (3) Countries of mixed races;

each case requiring special treatment.

Germanic or affiliated countries would be easily assimilated. They would automatically reassume quite rapidly their purely Germanic tendencies. Non-Germans would be expelled from their territory and contained in so-called "Reserves". Klauss Wagner explains it in several instances and with the fullest detail:

"We must assign to vanquished rivals barring our progress some 'reserved' territory to which they will be forced to retire in order to make room for our expansion. We must prevent their increase, which is harmful to us, by damming up their country. Let us organize courageously such compulsory migration, for which posterity will show us a lasting gratitude!"[‡]

* Klauss Wagner, 1906.

† *Reines Deutschland*—Pure Germanism, 1905.

‡ Joseph Ludwig Reimer: *Ein pangermanisches Deutschland*, 1905.

§ *Krieg*, 1905.

The territories thus rid of their non-German inhabitants would be colonized by methods surveyed by an anonymous author, who published in 1900 *Germany at the Beginning of the XIXth Century*. He writes :

"On our Eastern and Western borders, we should also be in a position, if we wage war for Integral Germany, to demand some surrender of territory. We should then stock such territory with German peasants, either by establishing *rentengüter*" [Polish estates bought back by the Prussian State and yielded to German colonists on payment of an annual sinking lease] "or by founding military colonies after having liquidated the foreign population.*"

Whilst advocating the same solution, Reimer, writing in 1905, appears less callous :

"It will be above all a question of providing new employment for those who have been dispossessed. There would remain three distinct courses of action.

"(1) To force them to perform tasks in certain industrial and Works departments.

"(2) To transfer them by deportation to a region unaffected by German colonization.

"(3) To grant eventually an average State Pension to childless dispossessed individuals on attaining a certain age. It would have to be a Life Pension, but it would be paid only to expropriated persons who would relinquish their houses or their farms to the newcomers, on a Lease agreement for example. This might often prove practicable, above all in the French regions in question."†

Integral Germany would finally include territories populated with mixed races, that is to say, containing in certain districts a proportion of more or less pure German blood.

"In this case" [declares Reimer] "it will be necessary to split up such territories into their constituent elements. In the case of German populations living in foreign lands, we have no right to allow our blood to become extinct. We must prevent its gradual blending and disappearance, attracting the blood to us, absorbing it in order to give fresh strength to our Germanism.

"We have also a duty towards that blood of our race which flows in the blood of aliens. We must purify it and set it free so that it may enjoy the sublime destiny of greater Germany. Finally, integral Germany will unite Germans, would-be Germans susceptible to Germanization and foreigners—the latter being, on principle, herded into 'reserved' territories controlled by the Reich."

All such individuals would naturally not enjoy the same rights, for there would be different castes. A Pan-Germanist, who represents moderate views since he conceives Germany as a Federation, forecasts the creation of two castes, in his book *Gross Deutschland und Mittel Europa um Jahre 1950*.‡

"Inside the Federation there will be a distinction between subjects and German citizens. The subjects of the German Federation will be the subjects of the present States of the Federation.

"The German citizens will be the subjects who profess to be German by a declaration made to the superior administrative authorities, and who

* *Deutschland bei Beginn des 20-te Jahrhunderts—von einem Deutschen*. 1900.

† Reimer : *Ein pangermanische Deutschland*. 1905.

‡ *Greater Germany and Central Europe towards 1950*. Berlin, 1893.

give proof that they possess a thorough knowledge of written and spoken German.

"Only German citizens will henceforth enjoy the rights :

"(1) To be elected to all categories of public representation, and to have a vote.

"(2) To serve in the Army or Navy.

"(3) To acquire property by channels other than inheritance (purchase, exchange, etc.). Landed estate may be left only to descendants and collaterals of the first degree—brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces. Trusts will be reduced to small properties, and household goods in limited proportion to the size of the farm."

A few years later, this idea for differentiation between citizens and subjects inside Germany was expressed pompously by William II, who on laying the foundation stone of the Roman Museum in Salzburg, 4 August 1900, delivered the following speech :

"I dedicate this stone to the future of the German Fatherland. May it in the course of time shine as gloriously as the Universal Roman Empire, so that people will say, 'I am a German citizen,' in the way that they formerly said, 'I am a Roman citizen'—*Civis Romanus sum*."

Commenting upon these words, Reimer said : "As in ancient times the Roman in his capacity of *civis Romanus* reigned over the world, so the German must dominate the world of the present and the future, as *civis Germanicus*."

Towards the same period, a leaflet, whose anonymous author may be considered as William II's spokesman, divided the German Empire into three castes :

(1) The citizens, who will form 25 per cent of the population, are the pure Germans (with fair hair, clear complexion, tall stature, a dolicocephalic cranium, etc.)

(2) The half-citizens, cross-bred, half-Germans, to whom intermarriage with pure-blooded Germans is forbidden.

(3) The non-Germans (brachycephalic), who will be treated like ancient hirelings or slaves, employed in the hardest and most unhealthy tasks, and who will be eliminated and eradicated by all possible means.

Reimer foresees the possibility of the creation of a fourth caste, consisting of non-Germans (Agerman), who will be able to assimilate German characteristics and environment, without constituting in themselves any danger to German civilization, which will have reached a sufficiently high level to be immune from adulteration.

"We might on juridical grounds grant them the following prerogatives. They would enjoy restricted citizenship (*civitas*), and have the benefit of social rights indispensable for the exercise of individual liberty (*commercium*). The right to intermarry with German men or women would be denied, so that they would be in the Roman state of *extra connubium*. In certain cases they would be sterilized (clause of extirpation)."*

He stresses the imperative need for non-intermarriage, and sterilization to insure the purity of the race, drawing a parallel with religious celibacy.

"The celibate in the Catholic Church stands as the perfect historical example of the possibility of artificial regulation in sexual life, proving that human reason can be imposed in sexual matters to the extent of prescribing total abstinence.

* Reimer : *Ein pangermanische Deutschland*.

"*A fortiori*, that state exists when it concerns not abstinence or need, but sterility, which brings material benefit to the individual by freeing him from the cares inherent in the establishment of a family.

"We shall thus have taken a great step forward if through legislation we succeed in preventing the conception of new beings."

These quotations give the lie to those members of the public who imagined Hitler's declaration of plans for the sterilization of the conquered nations were exaggerated or invented.

Such are the methods set up, as early as 1900, for the creation of the "Universal Germanic Empire" or the "German Nation." The annexation of foreign countries; the assimilation of would-be Germans; the confinement of non-Germans in "reserved territories" where they would become extinct; the colonization of their land by pure Germans; the creation of Imperial castes, two to four in number—the highest enjoying the privileges of *civitas germanica*, and the lowest not being allowed even to perpetuate themselves, thanks to adequate legislation.

We shall now see that modern Germany, as soon as she believed victory within grasp, began to set in operation, in France and in the minutest details, the plans and methods which we have surveyed.

The only measure which remained inoperative was the Law of Sterilization, but the maintenance within camps of prisoners of war was still more serious and even more effective. One often wonders why Hitler, in proclaiming his wish for collaboration, had not fulfilled, by the liberation of French soldiers, the act of true generosity which might have made such collaboration possible.

THE RACIAL SPECTRUM OF FRANCE

"France will become a prey to a turmoil of races, and the German blood of the French population will be lost for us if she is left to herself. Her future and that of her inhabitants of German race is in German hands."

REIMER : *A Pan-Germanic Germany*.

IN what category do the Germans place France? Is she a German, Germanic, mixed, or alien country?

The innumerable works they have devoted to elucidate this question lead to conclusions which differ only in detail.

As to the substance, they are all agreed. France is mostly of German blood.

Ludwig Jahn, "the founder of German physical culture," prepared in 1810 a plan for a book on "Germanism," one chapter of which studied the means of propagating the German race in that part of Germany which had long been French and in that which only lately had become so.*

In the first category is the centre of France; in the second, the East and the North.

One finds the same idea in the Essays published from 1902 onwards on racial organization in France by the *Pan-Germanic Review of Social Anthropology* (*Politische Anthropologische Revue*). According to Treitschke, the most eminent collaborator of that publication, France, in the Middle Ages, appears to have been, in spite of the Latin language, an essentially Germanic country.

"Since the Middle Ages, this Germanism, while still forming the basis of the population, has diminished," and that is why Jahn wishes to develop the German race in that part of Germany so long under French influence.

* Friedrich Ludwig Jahn : *Deutsches Volkstum* (German Nationality, or, rather, Germanism ... Germanization). Lubeck, 1810.

Since 1800 and 1900 the Germans have not changed their opinion, for the *Vöelkischer Beobachter*, official organ of the National Socialist Party, declared towards the end of September 1942:

"Whoever has been to France finds himself immediately confronted with so many features which he identifies as German that he cannot fail to ask 'What is truly French, and what is German?'"

"It is no easy matter to answer such a leading question. One thing, however, is sure: France would never have become what she is without the influx of German tribes, Goths, Alamans, Burgundians, Normans, etc. French provinces in which German blood predominates have always been the most precious, from every point of view; even scientists have to admit it."

Pan-Germanists, disciples of William the Second and Nazis, are unanimous on the point. France is German. But within this France, the process of de-Germanization is in full swing.

Already, Reimer, in 1905, judging from certain outward manifestations, and according to statistics, contended that non-Germans were predominating:

"As long as there are Germans of more or less pure origin in France, such nuclei will provide for the Fatherland Germans under a French mask (namely, of French nationality). By their talents and ideas, they will act upon their adopted nation, but remain in close contact with us. However, the more frequent these links become with the alien race, the more rapidly such nuclei of almost pure-blooded Germans will diminish and disappear after several generations.

"Cross-breeding is bound to minimize the chances of witnessing the advent of men of genius of German extraction."

Reimer attributes the causes of this process of de-Germanization to the "influx of alien races." Various happenings still contribute to hasten its effects. One is primarily the life in large towns. Moreover, the birth-rate among the Germans in France is in constant decline, above all in Paris, where outwardly, at least, the German imprint is still very evident. "One meets in this city many types of our race, but we can, nevertheless, foresee no happy issue for the German element in France.

"France is heading for a chaotic mixture of races, and German blood will soon become exhausted, should she be left to her own resources."

With a view to preventing such loss, the Germans have studied the racial components of France, with the following results:

In 1876, a geography text-book used in schools* taught that the French of German blood are the Flemings, Normans, Burgundians, and the inhabitants of Champagne, Languedoc and Provence.

Those from Languedoc are the descendants of the Visigoths, and those from Provence cross-breeds from Goths and Burgundians. There is but a single radically French region in Gaul, the Ile-de-France.

Such a book is intended merely for schoolboys, the studies of specialists naturally lead to more precise conclusions. Those enunciated by Reimer are the most illuminating.†

In taking the criteria of phrenology, the colour of the eyes and the pigment of the skin, he divides France into three regions:

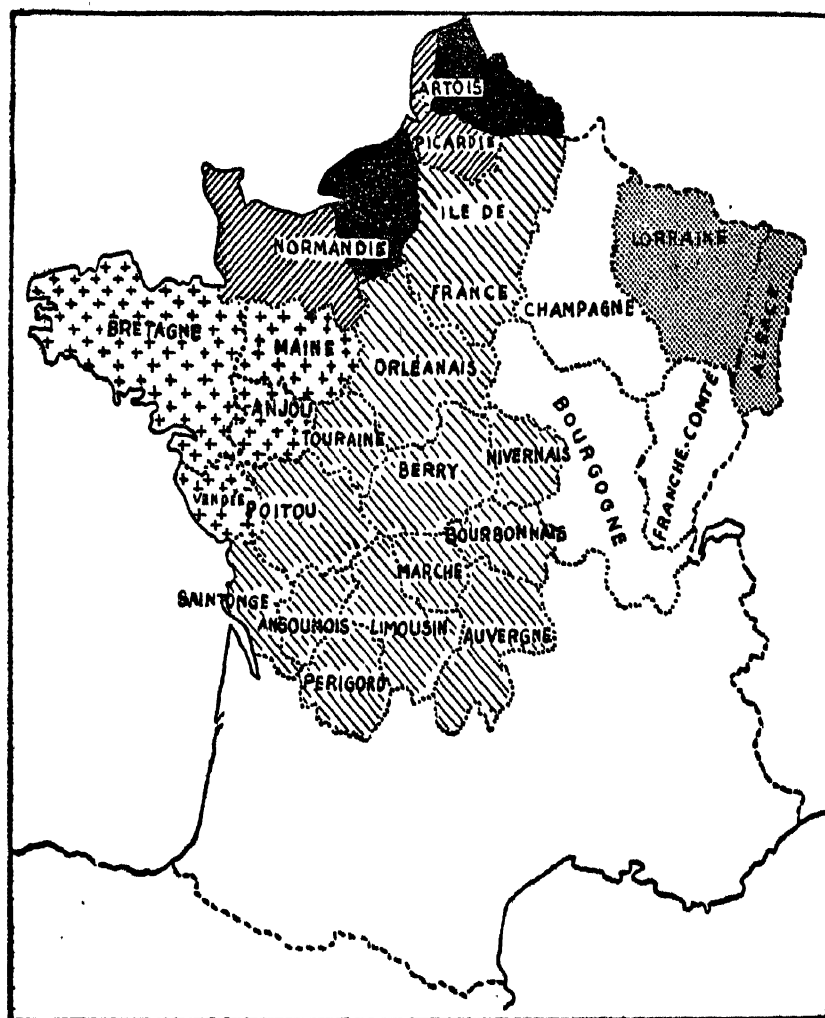
"(1). The first includes two sub-divisions:

"(a) Artois and Western Normandy. They are the most obviously German. The average shape of the head indicates a proportion of from

* Hummel: *Handbuch der Erdkunde*.

† Reimer: *A Pan-Germanic Germany*, 1905.

REIMER'S RACIAL SPECTRUM OF FRANCE



Clearly and strongly Germanic regions.



Germanic Regions.



Regions with a Celtic majority.



Mixed regions: Germans, Mediterraneans, Brachicephalic, Cromagnon types.

In white: Regions considered by Reimer to be "non-Germanic", except Alsace and Lorraine.

79 to 80 per cent predominantly German. The population is the foremost in France as regards clearness of complexion. These provinces numbered in 1901 3,353,000 inhabitants whom one might consider as Germanic in the extreme sense of the word.

"(b) Normandy and Picardy, where the proportion of German-shaped heads is about 81 per cent. The shape of the head varies on the average and the complexion is about the same as in the above region. The number of inhabitants reaches 2,630,000.

"Therefore, these two first regions, where the most Germanic blood is to be found, have a population of 5,928,000 inhabitants.

"(2). The second region may also be divided into two :

"(a) The West—Brittany, Maine, Anjou and Vendée, all provinces with a majority of Celtic blood.

"(b) The Centre, amalgamating Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, Limousin, Périgord, Berry, Orléanais, Auvergne and Ile-de-France, numbers, with the West, 20 million inhabitants. It is there that the races are the most mixed. There, the German, the Brachicephalic, the Mediterranean and the Cromagon type form a hybrid population where the Brachicephalic predominates. But it contains many Germanic elements 'still strong enough in certain districts' which it will be necessary to recover.

"(3). The chief bulk of the non-Germanic element dwells in the Eastern and Southern regions, which extends as a commencement along the frontier of the Reich (1914 frontier)."

Having thus submitted France to the analysis of his racial spectroscope, Reimer considers which treatment would be most suitable to apply to her in order to restore to the bosom of the Integral Reich Germanic populations as well as elements of German blood still existing in a scattered state in the provinces, the greater part of which have ceased to be German.

"I can picture" [he says] "France vanquished and subjected to Germany, being divided into three parts, according to her ethnical and demographic constitution :

"(1). The North and the North-West, approximately comprising the Artois, Picardy and Normandy, would be granted, after a variable period of transition, 'German citizenship,' that is to say would be incorporated within the Reich, with equality of rights.

"The transitory period would be devoted to the purification of the race through the process of Germanizing the population.

"(2). The Centre and the West,* with a population of 20 million inhabitants. This part could remain independent and keep its Republican institutions, its language and an autonomous administration, provided, however, such statutes be compatible with the sovereignty of the 'Reich.'"

This means to say that the remainder of France would be turned into a "Protectorate." On this subject Reimer writes this superb sentence :

"The granting of Autonomy to such a considerable portion of France would prove to be neither an arbitrary measure nor an act of misplaced generosity. Our decision would be prompted by the need for limiting ourselves and for not undertaking too much at the same time."

And he goes on :

"In Breton counties, French should be superseded by the Breton language (Armorican).

* Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Vendée, Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, Limousin, Périgord, Berry, Orléanais, Ile-de-France, Auvergne.

"In this region, to be linked with the economic German zone, the elementary teaching of the German language should be disseminated by degrees, discreetly, and in a preparatory manner.

"To safeguard and select gradually, with a view to later use, the German element, possibly still prevalent enough in some localities of this region, we would grant German civic rights, either to whole boroughs or to certain individuals. As regards 'marriage,' there would be some restrictions, the people concerned not being allowed to wed 'non-Germans.'

"(3). The great bulk of the non-Germanic element in France inhabits the Eastern and Southern regions extending from the frontier of the Reich. This fact will prevent us from admitting these territories within the Reich, or from granting them independence, as in the Centre.

"It would be necessary to apply to them German colonization pure and simple. It is for us a pressing necessity to establish colonies in these borderland provinces of Germany. We are obliged to seek protection against fresh dangers of ethnical immigration and political invasions.

"We are likewise forced to conquer colonial outposts, with a direct outlet on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, so as to gain access to the Iberian Peninsula through the Pyrenees."

The North of France has been administratively linked with Belgium, which, according to the Germans, is a country plainly Germanic.

Brittany has been the object of Autonomist undertakings and the Breton language has had full recognition.

The forbidden Eastern zones included precisely the "non-Germanic" territories which Reimer wished to submit to "German colonization pure and simple." The programme of expulsion and colonization advocated in 1900 was carried out in 1940.

Lastly, the free zone was the only one where the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine expelled from their country were granted the right of refuge. It is clear it formed the nucleus of the "reserve," or Protectorate, to which Reimer conceded administrative autonomy.

There is but a single discrepancy between the 1905 plan and the arbitrary demands imposed upon France in 1940. Reimer asked for direct access to the Mediterranean. The boundary of the Eastern forbidden zone should have extended as far as the Riviera, thereby including the ancient kingdom of Burgundy.

Obviously Italian claims explained why the Pan-Germanic plans of 1940 were thus amended.

SECOND PART

THE FORBIDDEN ZONE

"Quite obviously we shall have to seize every opportunity of incorporating again into the German Empire, at least, those among the intermediate countries which, in the course of the Middle Ages, and some later than the Peace of Westphalia, have been the political dependencies of the German Empire."

ERNST HASSE: *Deutsche Grenzpolitik*.

THE Franco-German Armistice Committee had hardly settled down in Wiesbaden when already the few French delegates who had harboured the dream of being able to collaborate with the Germans were disillusioned. They had come to "negotiate" the working out of the Armistice clauses, but their partners were giving them instructions and even orders. The Germans always gave the most unfavourable interpretation to texts, when they did not disregard their meaning entirely.

They admitted no argumentation. "Diplomats" were only concerned with forwarding to Vichy decisions taken by the Reich. Those who had hoped to find less bad faith among the Army than among the Nazis were meditating.

One day they received a Note. The Reich informed them that it did not see the possibility, for the time being, of letting the inhabitants from the East of France who had sought refuge in the South return home. Their houses had been laid waste by war. Those who were being repatriated found no shelter. The demolitions suffered by the roads, the railways and the buildings considerably increased the difficulties of sending supplies. Lastly, the urgency of preparing military operations (doubtless against England) compelled Germany to use for her own purposes all the resources of the country, means of transport, of sending supplies, etc. On the other hand, the Reich had generously prepared a scheme for the gradual repatriation of refugees which would come into operation when strategic conditions would allow.

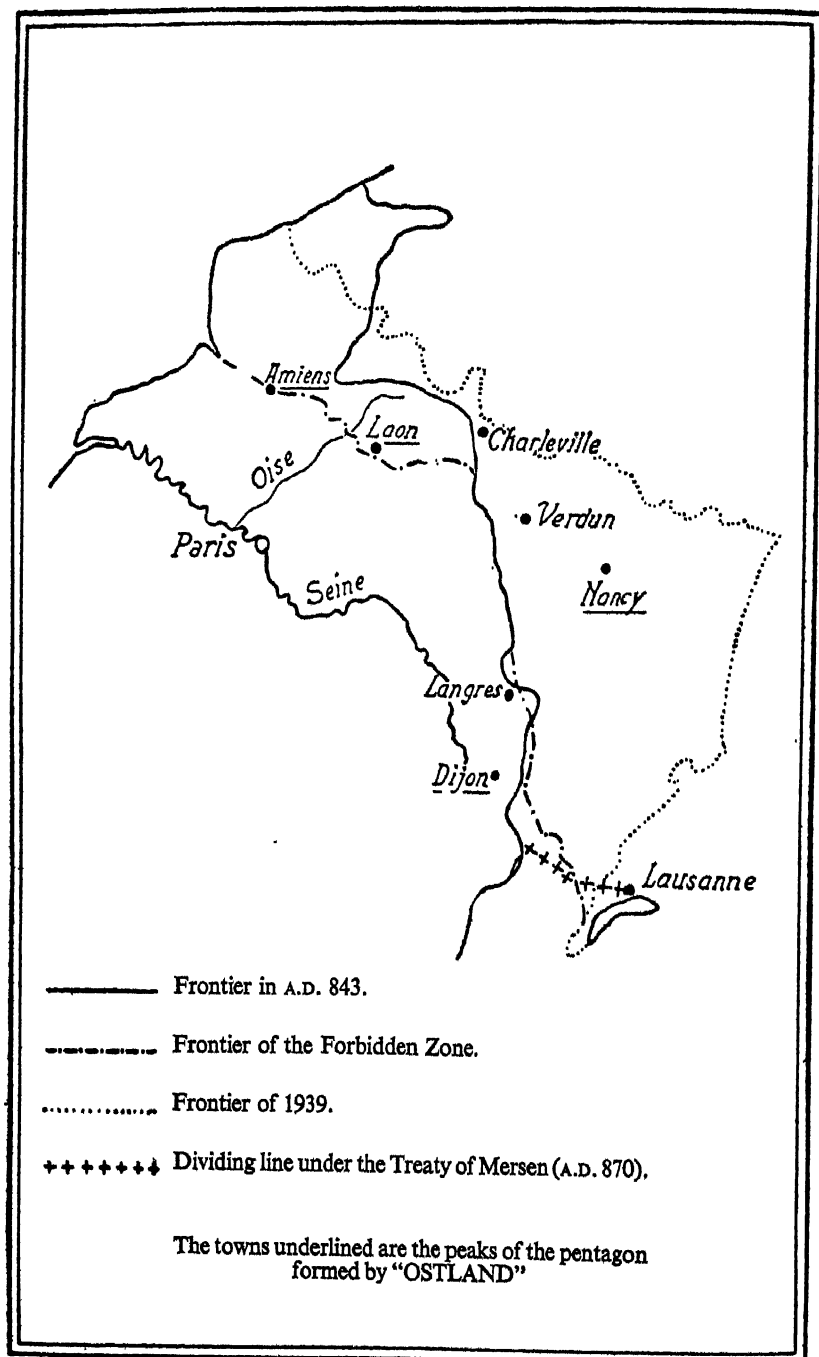
The motives put forward by the Germans to justify the creation of this Zone were shattered by even the most superficial criticism.

They mentioned the difficulties of supplies and the lack of shelter caused by demolitions. But everyone already knew that the Germans were making frantic efforts to send home the Alsatians and Lorrainers who had been evacuated to Dordogne at the beginning of the war in 1939. In their case, the problems of supply were quite as intricate as on the other side of the Vosges. In fact, they were for weeks on end entirely dependent upon the Nazi organizations. On 8 August 1940 the Germans boasted of having served in Strasburg alone 169,000 lunches and 94,000 dinners in twelve dining-halls, of having brought from Germany all supplies necessary for the subsistence of their "blood brothers," whether they had returned to the town or country, and of having built hundreds of shelters for those whose houses had been shattered. Such destructions were on a very large scale, above all in Lorraine, and for three years one of the favourite themes of Nazi propaganda was repeatedly to praise the work of reconstruction accomplished by Germany in those two provinces.

Germany declared also that repatriated populations would be exposed to British bombing. Did not the Sarrois, the Lorrainers, live in centres of military objectives?

A map was pinned on the Note, explaining the boundary of the "temporarily" forbidden zone. The French delegates were dumbfounded.

The boundary reminded them of a well-known frontier, to be found in every historical work. From Charleville to Langres, it showed, with perfect accuracy, the frontier traced in 843 to cut off after Charlemagne's death, Lotharingia, Empire of Lothaire, from Neustria, kingdom of Charles the Bald.



THE FORBIDDEN ZONE

From Langres to the Swiss frontier, the border of the forbidden zone duplicated, with some simplifications, the dividing line established by the Mersen Treaty of 870.

Simultaneously with the sending of the German Note, a brochure entitled *Die Geschichte der deutschen Westgrenze (History of the Western German Frontier)* was published in Leipzig. Its author was Professor Anrich, who a few months later was appointed Rector of Strasburg University. Anrich recalled in it the sharing of Charlemagne's Empire and reached the expected conclusion that Lotharingia belongs by right to the German Reich. His brochure contained a map of which we print a facsimile and which gives the outline of the western frontier of the intermediary Empire (Mittelreich Lotharingie). Let one superimpose this map on the one contained in the Note sent to the Wiesbaden Armistice Commission, to remove any shadow of doubt.

The frontier of the forbidden zone was a historical frontier, that of the German Reich of the year 1000.

Having recovered from their initial amazement, serene minds may have marvelled at the amount of historical knowledge displayed by the Masters of the Third Reich. But it was not with the help of palimpsests that the Nazis had drawn their map. They had but transcribed the researches and fulfilled the hopes of the Pan-Germanists who for 150 years had demanded the annexation of the "Burgundy Gate" (Belfort territory) of Burgundy, of Western Franconia (French Lorraine, chief town Nancy) and of the famous five "Northern counties" with which they had imagined forming the "Thiois State".

These territories, the totality of which precisely constitutes the forbidden zone, have their frontiers stated in the works written since 1800.

And the campaigns led by the Nazis after the Armistice in favour of the annexation of these provinces, were but the sequel to century-old controversy, the history of which is worth recalling.

THE BURGUNDY GATE

THE Burgundy Gate (*Burgundische Pforte*) is the German name for what we more commonly call the "Belfort Gap," connecting between the Alps and the Vosges the Alsace plain with Burgundy.

It was the only part of Alsace saved from the 1871 Annexation. Belfort had in 1871 heroically resisted against an apparently endless siege, and Colonel Denfert Rochereau, who had surrendered only when the armistice had been signed, had been allowed to leave the fortress, together with what remained of its garrison, in arms and with full military honours. Such heroic resistance eased considerably the task of Thiers in his struggle with Bismarck for the retention of Belfort to France. The Germans immediately regretted it. Hardly had the Treaty of Frankfurt been signed when Constantin Frantz protested: "Why have we left Belfort to France?" In his book *The New Germany*, which appeared in 1871, he wrote:

"It is the more surprising that we should have given up, for the defence of Alsace, the stronghold of Belfort, which has always been a part of Alsace."

In 1875, Paul de Lagarde* deplored the same mistake in these words:

"The fact that the French have kept, with Belfort, a gate through which they can invade Germany, is far more important than the unpleasant outline of our Eastern frontier. . . .

* Paul de Lagarde: *The Present Position of the German Reich*.

"In order to safeguard our Eastern March, it is almost imperative to possess Luxembourg and quite imperative to have Belfort. We have one right, it is to watch on our own safety, and this safety will only be unshakeable through the possession of Belfort."

As soon as the possibility appeared of making good the error committed in 1871, the Germans firmly stated their intentions.

In 1915 a report sent by the German General Staff to William II insisted on the necessity of annexing the territory of Belfort after victory. It advocated the Germanization of the country through colonization, and, to perfect the task, suggested changing the name of Belfort to that of Trutzort, although, according to German authors, Belfort was a name of Germanic origin: Beffert.

The reason set forth by Pan-Germanists was that Belfort was spelt BÉfort on the maps of the time of Louis XIV, a point testified today by the pronunciation of the inhabitants: "Béfor".

But, to tell the truth, the name of Beffert has no meaning in German. After 1918, the Germans, and particularly the Nazis, took up the idea and the *Journal des Alsaciens-Lorrains*, which had been founded in Berlin under the German Social Democrat régime, and was published without interruption under all parties, printed studies and information on the territory of Belfort as on the remainder of Alsace.

Directly after the Armistice of 1940 a book appeared in Strasburg: *Elsass und Lothringen, deutsches Land (Alsace and Lorraine, German Country)*, a splendid work to which the foremost specialists on the question contributed. It was published under the editorship of Otto Meissner, who was none other than the chief of Hitler's Chancellery.

Meissner takes up the question of the Belfort territory and writes:

"The one-time German mining district in the Rosenfelder Tal has been completely forgotten. Who today realizes that the names of the villages south of the Vosges—Ettuefont, Vescemont, Lepuy and Auxelles—were once Welschentaufen, Wesenberg, Soden and Assel?"

"Plancher-les-Mines also was once Plantschier."

The villages quoted by Meissner range in the north of the Belfort territory, where no one speaks a word of German. Of Belfort itself, Meissner speaks in the following terms:

"Here it is not only a case of decline in the mining industry but also in the political conditions which has resulted in the loss of a rich German culture, which, together with the spoken language, was widely prevalent throughout all the Belfort region.

"Belfort itself, even during the XVIIIth century, was merely a small mediocre town where 'Burgundian and Lotharingian' were spoken, according to Merian. In a subsequent description of 'Belfort in Alsace'—or more precisely in the 'Sundgau'—we read that 'Teuton, and a corrupt French' are spoken, but that admirably Belfort remained an Austrian town and a frontier stronghold until the Peace of Westphalia.

"At no other place did the German emigration towards the West attain such large-scale dimensions as at Belfort and the surrounding districts. After the Peace of Frankfurt, the industries of Mülhausen and Strasburg, particularly the technical and mechanical Rochlin and Alsthom), were forced to create fresh ramifications at Belfort. It is with Alsatian capital, and thanks to Alsatian labour and spirit of enterprise, that the modern

industrial regions comprising the vast automobile factories of Peugeot and Mömpelgard (the German version of Montbéliard) have been developed."

These last lines reflect to perfection the technique of German reasoning. Actually, if "after the Peace of Frankfurt the industries of Mülhausen and Strasburg were forced to create fresh ramifications," it is because tens of thousands of Alsatians settled in this district, preferring rather to exile themselves than become Germans. And it is this region which Meissner wishes to annex, precisely because Alsatians populate it—those same Alsatians whose exodus in 1871 was a gesture of protestation against the annexation of their country by the Reich.

The assertion by Meissner is the logical sequence of the blood theory. These Alsatians, though protesting, are Germans, whether they wish it or not, and wherever they seek refuge, Germany will claim them, and with them the countries where they have sought haven.

There is no doubt that in the case of victory, Germany would have supported her demands on Algeria with arguments to the effect that in 1871 and in 1940 thousands of inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine sought refuge there, and that entire villages founded and inhabited by them exist.

Meissner resumes his march towards the South to arrive at Delle (which he calls Dettienried), a small town on the Swiss frontier in the Belfort territory, and about which he says:

"In the South there was another German town founded by Hohenstaufen, Dettienried, where the old German name still exists amongst the Sundgau peasants, whereas modern French geography has insinuated itself in a widespread fashion in the Reich. At Dettienried, there is to be found a church of striking beauty in the late Roman style."

This *Roman* church being produced as proof of the Germanism of Delle (where there again not a word of German is spoken), Meissner continues his progress towards Burgundy and arrives at Montbéliard, which he calls Mömpelgard. He declares:

"In the Burgundy region the influence of the German culture stretched much further, namely in the Würtemberg duchy of Mömpelgard, which has remained on the closest relations with Tübingen and Stuttgart during four hundred years, the Würtembergian positions of Reichenweiler and Horburg playing the role of bridges. The same architect who designed the town of Freudenstadt with its outstanding lines was also entrusted with the mission of constructing and transforming the town of Mömpelgard. One can read the name of this Würtemberg architect, Heinrich Schickardt of Herrenberg, above the entrance door of the Lutheran church of Mömpelgard, and it is only its inclusion in the duchy of Würtemberg which can account for the evangelical religion of this province amongst Catholic territory once Habsburgian.

"In its dress and habits, food and wine, and even the numerous expressions of patois, one can find even today the influence of Würtemberg and Alsace in Mömpelgard. In this region, a completely different mentality is apparent from that of the neighbouring Catholic, and it is certainly not fortuitous that this Lutheran country has produced so many eminent men attaining celebrity in the realms of French science and politics. It suffices to call to mind the great naturalist Cuvier, whose monument stands before the Hôtel de Ville of Mömpelgard. But this does not only apply to the town in question, but also to Héricourt and Audincourt, completely industrialized, as well as the surrounding rural districts.

The ancient economic and cultural centre, the Gate of Burgundy, was not, however, during the centuries, Belfort, but the Württembergian town of Mömpelgard. It was the hub of exchange for grain and wine, salt and iron, and its school was the forum of intellectual inspiration. Today Belfort is an industrial town of 45,000 inhabitants, whilst the Belfort territory, which for some incomprehensible reason was wrested from Alsace by the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, numbers approximately 100,000 inhabitants."

Naturally, this campaign in favour of the annexation of the Belfort territory is not confined after 1940 to the works of Meissner. Innumerable articles recall to the German public the character of this country seized from the Reich by the violence of French policy.

The annexation of Belfort is not merely a right, a reparation due to injustice, but a strategical necessity, for Belfort in French hands constitutes a direct menace to the south-west frontier of Germany.

On 30 December 1942 the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official mouthpiece of the Nazi Party, stresses, on the occasion of the New Year, the German character of the region :

"The Burgundy Gate is an ancient right of way for the migration of peoples. It is an old terrain of the Reich. In prehistoric times the Rhine flowed there before its junction with the Rhone. It is also in this region of Sundgau that the great battle took place in the year 58, where the Duke of the Suevi, Arioviste, was defeated, but not subjected, by the legions of Caesar."

And a few days previously, at Christmas, the *Gazette* of Frankfurt devoted an article to Belfort :

"This name reminds us of our duty. It takes the form of a warning ! Belfort is situated only about thirty miles from Altkirch. One remembers involuntarily, by habit, what a role this redoubtable fortress has played, by remaining inexpugnable during the Seven Years War and the Great War of 1914. Today Belfort has lost its aureole of fortress, the frontier has not the profound meaning that it had from 1871 to 1918.

"The name of Belfort has more the sense of Gate, of Postern. The ancient citadel of the Gate of Burgundy rears herself in the same place where the Jura and the Vosges sweep away, leaving a threshold. The Gate of Burgundy is a window through which the Sundgau leans out, representing the soul of the Reich.

"It is out of this window that all the great founders of States have looked. The Swabe-Alemanians, the Seigneurs of Ferrette in Sundgau (Pfirt), the Zähringen of Brisgau, the Staufen of Hagenau and the Habsburgs of Sundgau."

They have directed their gaze towards the crown and the Burgundian country of German stock. They have gained possession of this crown and this country.

Previous to 1648 Belfort represented an outpost of Austria. In the eyes of the people, the Gate of Burgundy has never constituted an absolute frontier. Today they still speak an Alsatian dialect in the suburbs of Belfort, and the town is known as Beffert in Alemanic.

WESTERN FRANCONIA

"Lorraine would be raised to the status of an independent State, and I really fail to see why the same could not apply to Franche-Comté and Savoy."

CONSTANTIN FRANTZ, 1871.

IN 1906 the Germans drafted the Peace Treaty they were going to impose on France after having crushed her. They called it "The Peace of Brussels," since it was to be signed in the Belgian capital.

Its text, *in extenso*, is to be found in Otto Richard Tannenberg's book, published the same year: *Great Germany: Achievement of the XXth Century*. The first paragraph of this "Peace of Brussels" was couched in the following words:

"(1). France surrenders the following countries to Germany:

"The Vosges, with Epinal, the Meurthe-et-Moselle with Lunéville, the Meuse with the town of Verdun and the Ardennes with Sedan. In all about 17,114 square kilometres. This region is at the present time thinly populated, having 69 inhabitants per square kilometre. It is hardly one half of the density of Germany's population. The territory thus surrendered to Germany in the Upper Meuse and the Moselle has but 1,192,453 inhabitants.

"The new province shall be called 'Western Franconia'.

"Nancy will be its chief town, and the residence of the higher authorities, the new Army Corps and the site of a University.

"The chief towns of the district will be: for the North, Verdun, on the Meuse; for the South, Epinal, on the Moselle. The new Western frontier will follow the watershed between the Meuse and the tributaries of the right bank of the Seine."

If Tannenberg was, as we think, the first to suggest the name of Western Franconia, the idea of remodelling Lorraine as a Province or "Independent State" had been launched a long time before him. In 1941 Helmuth von Moltke had already raised the point:

"All territories of Lorraine and Burgundy belong to us by ancient right and have been illegally torn from us."*

In 1871 Constantin Frantz, in *The New Germany*, deplored the fact that the Reich had not taken the whole of Lorraine from France.

To have discriminated at Frankfurt between the two parts of that province was, according to Frantz, "arbitrary and temporary":

"Among the Provinces we should have severed from France, Lorraine would have been, without doubt, of immediate value to us. We have, in fact, claimed part of it. . . . But I appeal to your own feeling. . . . Would not the sensation created have been quite different, had we demanded the whole of Lorraine, chiefly by claiming the restitution of our ancient right, rather than taking part of it, without holding to well-founded right—but really to some personal whim, and thus securing what pleases us? Such and such a part of Lorraine, our people say, must belong to Germany, such and such another to France. But that is an arbitrary and temporary distinction which it is our will to modify at the first opportunity.

"I do not wish that we should pursue a policy of conquest, but rather of liberation. We shall not turn into German provinces these territories taken

* Helmuth von Moltke: *The Question of the Western Frontier in 1841*, p. 226.

from France, we shall restore their independence. Truly, it is, in fact, a process of liberation, since it is only by force that those provinces have formerly been subjected to French domination.

"The existence of such a province of transition is really so ancient that it goes back to the famous Treaty of Verdun, according to the terms of which the whole country included between the Rhine, Escaut, Saône and Rhône served as a buffer State between Germany and France. There has been endless wrangling over it.

"France absorbed the greater part. If we are to improve matters, let us save and recondition that State, as far as it has not yet succumbed to French influence.

"And Lorraine would be precisely the most suitable region for Germany, because of its nearness as well of its importance."

By a perverted twist of argumentation, a typical habit of the German mind, the creating of a Western independent Lorraine would have, according to the calculations of Constantin Frantz, the advantage of allaying the fears of the other small States like Switzerland and Holland, thus actually enabling Germany to absorb them with greater ease.

"If there existed a Duchy, even a kingdom, of Lorraine participating in the German Confederation, it would at the same time constitute the greatest guarantee for the neighbouring States concerned. One would then have less to fear from an attempted surprise attack by France, without having for that matter to dread any violence from Germany. The reconstitution of an independent Lorraine would be a formal proof of the maintenance of small States" (*sic*!).

Frantz reaches the following conclusion :

"Let us reconstitute the Duchy of Lorraine. Let it be ruled by an independent Prince. Soon the inhabitants will feel that they are Lorrainers again and will not in the least regret the loss of the sovereignty of Paris. The old house of Lorraine is still alive in Austria; it would therefore be useless to found a new dynasty. . . .

"Lorraine would be raised to the status of an independent Power, and I really fail to see why the same could not apply to Franche-Comté and Savoy.

"A federation of States would thereby have been formed that no power would fear. But the Federation would, in fact, rely on Germany's control.

"It would then become imperative to oblige France to surrender all her aggressive positions, which would only be made possible by creating small States, forming a Federation on the Western frontier of Germany."

This idea was developed at more or less frequent intervals by Pan-Germanist theorists up to 1914. It is imperative to create in the whole of Europe, around the Reich, the geographical centre and political suzerain, a crown of vassal States.

Apparently this old thesis had been quite unnoticed in France, for when, in his book *Hitler Has Told Me*, Rauschnigg reproduces Hitler's declarations on the subject, they appeared new and striking in France.

After the Armistice of 1940 the German claims to Western Lorraine were exposed on many instances, and it is again the Chief of the Reich Chancellery, Otto Meissner who states the position in the book we have referred to; he writes :*

* *Elsass und Lothringen, deutsches Land*, p. 99.

"Lothaire received, as well as Middle Franconia, the Imperial crown. The Western borders of his Empire remained for a long period, even after it had crumbled down and after almost a thousand years, the borders of the German Empire in many important parts, above all the border of the nucleus of the Lotharingian Empire. That was Lorraine, including the territories of the Upper Meuse and Upper Moselle with the towns of Sedan, Luxemburg (old German Lutzburg), Diedenhofen, Metz, Toul (old German Tull or Toll), Verdun (old German Wirten), Nancy, Lunéville (Lunstadt) and Epinal.

"It was, for instance, a small tributary of the Meuse which was considered to be the most ancient frontier of the German Empire to the West. To the South, Lorraine stretched as far as the Belfort Gap. To the East it was bordering on Alsace, whose inhabitants frequently called themselves 'the inhabitants of the forests of Wasgan (*Wasgenwälder*)—(region of the Vosges) children of Greater Lorraine.'"

It was not by chance that the only French newspaper circularized as freely in the occupied and free zones as the German newspapers in Germany and abroad happened to be the *Echo de Nancy*.

The same *Echo de Nancy* published regularly an article on Brittany, where, it goes without saying, the Breton Autonomist movement was praised.

THE THIOIS STATE

"The fusion of the Flemish from the North-West of France with the French, who are backward racially and mentally, would bring about the decadence of their race.

"Truly, it is high time for Germany to remember her brothers separated from her."
FRITZ BLEY, 1897.

BESIDES Burgundy, Franche-Comté, the Burgundy Gate and Western Franconia, the forbidden zone comprises five counties (Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Somme, Ardennes and Aisne) claimed by Germany for exactly 140 years.

It was, in fact, in 1803, when Prussia was but a second-rate Power, and who, in spite of her military training, was to be crushed by Napoleon, that Ernst Moritz Arndt wrote in *Germany and Europe*:

"Geographically speaking, the Somme in Picardy could supply the northern frontier of France, and Germany would only thus acquire the sea she owns by right because of her general position."

And if Arndt claimed this territory at that time, it is because it was inhabited by men of German blood.

It would be superfluous to trace the repetition of this claim by a great many writers in the course of the XIXth century. Let us limit ourselves to three quotations. In 1845 Friedrich List says:*

"The French excel neither in agriculture, nor in manufacture, commerce or nautical skill, and they owe their success in such varied spheres to those of their provinces where German genius is foremost: Alsace, Lorraine, Normandy, French Flanders."

In 1871 Constantin Frantz, giving an account of the errors made by the signing of the Treaty of Frankfurt, deplored the fact that the Reich had not taken Flanders from France, for, in doing so,

* Friedrich List: *Values and Conditions of an Alliance Between Great Britain and Germany*.

"one would, in the first instance, have returned to Belgium those of the territories which used to belong to her. No power could have objected to that, but Belgium, freed from the nightmare of that belt of French fortresses surrounding her, could have henceforth enjoyed a very different security from that allowed by her present position."

Early in the XXth century Fritz Bley again treated the question in detail :*

"We cannot leave Flanders without giving a thought to the lost Flemish countries, Artois and maritime Flanders, which Louis XIV had so brutally stolen as he stole Alsace-Lorraine. That fine country of the Channel coast has but a very superficial French veneer. The population still thinks and expresses itself in Flemish.

"The physical appearance of these three quarters of a million of Flemings, their fair hair, their blue eyes, their little bodies and their tall stature, leave no doubt as to the pure German blood of this magnificent race. They have valiantly fought against the 'wicked, vile and stupid French' and their pretensions. The French themselves do not feel at home in this country !

"The researches made by Baudrillart on 'rural populations' in France irrefutably prove, if there is any need for proof, that the Flemings of the north-west of France are far superior to all rural populations of France, and that their amalgamation with the French, inferior in body and mind, would bring about the decadence of their race.

"But if maritime Flanders must be sooner or later united with Western Flanders and if we are to retrieve from the French, as it is our honest right, what the brutal theft of Turenne has torn from Flanders, it is then that we shall hear the whole of France utter protests as it did when we took back Alsace-Lorraine. There is, however, an unfathomable distance between the population of Upper Germany, always ready to give up its personality, and the unshakeable loyalty of the Lower Germany in this part of Flanders.

"Courage ! This race of maritime Flanders will become French neither by violence nor cunning.

"In reality, it is high time, in Germany, we should remember those brothers separated from us. The German fist has five fingers, the Flemings, the Beers, the Dutch, the Upper Germans, the Lower Germans. . . .

"But the German fist can be clenched and strike when anger seizes it ! And wherever it strikes, the grass grows no more !"

On the eve of the Great War Karl Lamprecht claimed, in the following words, the right for Germany to annex the "five Northern counties," because they are German, by their race, their blood, and their culture :†

"Even in Lille (formerly Ryssel) one can still hear the Flemish dialect. For the North of France, the region of the five Northern Counties which are not entirely subjected to French rule, still shelters several hundreds of thousands of Flemings ; and the traveller who goes from Calais to Belgium through Dunkirk can see, appearing at the little country stations, silhouettes never seen before, except in the old Brandenburg Marches and in a few other regions forming a part of the ancient Imperial domain of colonization. They are Flemings. . . . Flemings !"

Among the advocates of Integral Germany, some urged the creation, with these provinces, of one of the vassal countries which, like a crown, were meant to

* Fritz Bley : *Die Alldeutsche Bewegung und die Nederlands*—The Pan-Germanist Movement and the Low Countries, 1897.

† Karl Lamprecht : *History of Germany in the More Recent Past and in the Present*. 1913, T.II-495 sq.

encircle the brow of Germania. They had named "Thiois State"* this creation of German blood which was to include Belgian Flanders, the "five Northern counties," and stretch as far as the borders of Franche-Comté. The plans of the Thiois State were to be found at the headquarters of Breton Autonomists before 1939, with all documents relating to the Catalan, Corsican and other Autonomist movements.

After 1940 one is able to trace in books and articles published in Germany ideas of a similar inspiration, and Otto Meissner, in his famous book on Alsace



THE THIOIS STATE

and Lorraine, gives a casual historical survey of the Flemish question which is illuminating as to the current ideas of the Nazi spheres.

"In 1547, the Emperor Charles V had taken prisoner, during the battle of Mühlberg, Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, chiefs of the Schmalkale League.

"In 1551, the Protestant princes Maurice of Saxe, William of Hesse, Johann Albert of Mecklenburg and George Frederik of Brandenburg, appealed to the Catholic King Henry II of France begging him to help them deliver the Protestant princes who were prisoners.

"Henry II sent his Plenipotentiaries to Lochau and Dresden. A Treaty

* From the Latin *theotiscus*—Tudesq . . . cf. Teuton, Dutch, deutsch; and the old German language is still called "Theotique".

was ratified and pledged at Fontainebleau on 15 January 1552, in which the following clauses are stipulated:

"It has been found right and necessary that His Majesty the King of France should forthwith take possession of the towns which from time immemorial have belonged to the Reich and are not of German language, namely Chamrich (Cambrai) Toll (Toul), Metz, Wirten (Verdun), including all possessions of such towns . . . that he should own them and keep them in his capacity of Vicar of the Holy Empire, title we intend to confer on his Majesty. However, the Holy Empire shall retain its jurisdiction over these towns.

"Against which, King Henry undertakes to pay at once 24,000 thalers to the Protestant princes and to give also a monthly subsidy of 60,000 francs to finance the war planned against Charles V."

It was not without reason that on 16 August 1941, the B.B.C. declared:

"The so-called Vichy Government is taking steps to conclude a Peace Treaty with the enemy. Now, the minimum terms of the latter, and we challenge Admiral Darlan to deny them, stipulate the permanent amalgamation of Alsace-Lorraine with the Reich, and of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais with a so-called Thiois State, a vassal bastion of the Reich."

But already, nine months earlier, on 23 November 1940, Press dispatches were reproducing the declarations of an official spokesman of the Wilhelmstrasse.

They announced the creation of a Flemish State called Thiois, including the South of Holland, Belgium and French Flanders, adding: "We shall never give up the ports of the Pas-de-Calais!"

Is there any need to recall that the Northern French counties were administratively attached to Belgium, immediately after the Armistice of 1940?

That is why, to the south of Charleville, the border of the forbidden zone differs from the outline of the former Lotharingian border and turns to the west to reach the source of the Somme.

By including the five Northern counties in the forbidden zone to be annexed later, Hitler merely obeyed the dictates which the philosophers and historians of the past were imposing on him from the depths of German history.

BURGUNDY "REICH TERRITORY"

"Those who volunteer to fight Bolshevism emulate the Teutonic knights from the 'fiefs' of Alsace and Burgundy, one of the most ancient and foremost of the Order."

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 14 March 1943.

THE declarations of the Pan-Germanists proclaim the German character of Burgundy, and the rights of the Reich on this "old province" of the "Holy Empire" would fill a whole volume. Rather than classify them, it is interesting to see how the Germans, after the defeat of France, openly pursued this campaign, either in technical works or in the daily Press.

The forbidden zone created by them as soon as the Armistice was signed cuts Burgundy in two, according to an outline very similar to that of the Treaty of Mersen in 870. The eastern half, the Franche-Comté, with Besançon as its chief town, was included in the zone, and this division was obviously not unintentional.

There is more to be said. As soon as they arrived in Paris, the Germans demanded that the documents relating to the history of Franche-Comté, which

had been safely stored away in the provinces, should be given back to them. Emissaries were despatched to Dijon, Besançon, etc. They borrowed from museum records or libraries the few priceless works on Burgundy, of which the Germans had been unable, before the war, to obtain a copy.

These specialists, sent purposely from the Reich, set down to work in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* on this documentation.

Their studies lasted several months. We have failed to obtain any observation on this point, but we are aware that Dr. Kruss, who supervised them, declared that they had some bearing on the future Franco-German Treaty.

However, under the auspices of Dr. Meissner, Chief of the Reich Chancellery, an important work, superbly illustrated, was published in Strasburg. It was called *Alsace and Lorraine, German Territory*, and its title sums up its purpose. It not only reviewed the German characteristics of Alsace and Lorraine such as we know them, but also Great Lorraine, which included for some time the counties of the Vosges as far as the gateways to the Doubs. Dr. Meissner goes further still, and in many instances surveys the problem of Burgundy while referring to Franche-Comté in terms which leave no doubt in the mind; it is one of the most ancient territories of the Reich. That is, moreover, why Alsace and Lorraine, at the time of the greatness of the Holy German Empire—the rebuilding of which is the aim of the Third Reich—"were not frontier countries, but on the contrary formed the very heart of the Empire."

Dr. Meissner finds in the clothing, habitat, fauna, flora, customs, even contours, and above all in history, proofs of the German nature of Burgundy:

"The Franche-Comté of Burgundy and the Imperial city of Bisanz (Besançon) have been the property of the German Reich as far as the second half of the XVIIth century and its memories have in no way been obliterated.

"The German Eagle embellishes the coats-of-arms of Bisanz, as well as the armorial bearings of the Imperial Alsatian towns. Bisanz experienced its last flourishing epoch in the time of the Empire, under her Statthalter, who was born at Ornans in the Free Duchy, under the name of Antoine Perrenet, which he later changed to Granvella.

"The Burgundian country and the Gateway of Burgundy have borrowed their name from the race of Burgunds who, after the collapse of the royal kingdom of Bourgogne de Worms, settled in the region of Lyons and Dijon, Geneva and Lausanne, and in the Gate of Burgundy. But in the latter a very powerful Alemanic element was apparent. . . .

"In the Free Duchy, the Swiss proved to be unsurpassable masters not only in industry, especially that concerning clockmaking, mechanics and precision work, but in agriculture, specializing in stock-breeding and dairy-farming. But all this German population had to be lost, because Germany did not wish, nor was she able to guarantee, these outposts for herself.

"Evidently this must be obviated in the future, for the Reich is now in a position to assure these outposts for herself."

The book, published under the auspices of Dr. Meissner, was the fourth directory of the town of Friburg-in-Brisgau.

The fifth appeared in the following year under the simple title of *Burgund* (Burgundy). It was edited with the same luxury and care as its predecessor, by Hunenburg at Strasburg. "It is devoted," wrote the *Strasburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 26 May 1942,

"to beautiful Burgundy, the country between the Rhine and the Rhone, which has such a rich destiny. One reads the historical reflections contributed by the most eminent historians such as Hans Zeiss, Hans Neumann, Hans K. F. Günther, Friedrich Baethgen, Hermann Heimpel, Günther

Franz, Gerhard Ritter or Georg Neiemeier. They consecrate themselves to widely conceived historical expositions in an astute and penetrating manner which elucidates the course of events. The book also contains poetical works which reveal the beauty and destiny of Burgundy by the poets Hermann Burte, Wilhelm Schäfer, Mirke Jelusich, Jose Wenter, Otto Brües and Jako Schaffner.

"Thus poetry and science, scientific research and visible reality are united in this work. It is furnished with superb illustrations including 84 photographs, a map, and a magnificent reproduction in colour of an extract from the manuscript of the Nibelungen of Donaueschingen.

"One will read and re-read this volume, and evoke with it the old and beautiful Burgundian country. . . ."

This imposing book, drafted, no doubt, with the aid of documents collected by Dr. Kruss, had only one aim—to demonstrate the German character of Burgundy and to enumerate the rights of the Reich to lay claims to it.

Concerning the introduction signed by the Burgomaster of Friburg-in-Brigau, the following lines summarize the whole :

"How many Germans are familiar with the German past of this country? How many are conversant with the invasions of the Huns, Arabs and Normans which the warlike stamina of the Burgundian people has surmounted? The last of its Dukes, the greatest of them all, had sufficient temerity to interfere with the cycle of history, which cost Burgundy its liberty. Today another kind of melancholy, caused by the unhappy tragedy of her history, burdens this radiant country. One speaks of the Burgundian adventure, which has become fatal for her, in which the inhabitants are animated—more or less subconsciously—by a mixture peculiar to them of resignation to the inevitable, memories of suffering, and a love of easy-living.

"The history of Burgundy deserves to be known, for it implies a Nordic destiny, the heroic glory, the splendour and the ruin of a race whose essence and strength are enfeebled by a country which is too indolent and perhaps too opulent.

"Why should not Burgundy recover her important position of natural link between zones?"

Newspaper articles relating to Burgundy were, after 1940, much more numerous than those devoted to the Gate of Burgundy, whose fate, it was plainly evident, had already been settled, in the German mind, namely that Belfort should take the name of Beffert, or that of Trutzort.

On 15 September 1940 the Official Transocean Agency published from "somewhere in Burgundy" a despatch as significant by its style—alien to the usual routine of an Information Bureau—as by its contents.

The correspondent related that in a Burgundian inn he had found two old letters framed in glass. The publican was an enthusiastic collector of antiques. The first document, dating from Whitsuntide 1508, was the granting of a favour by Maximilian of Austria, Roman Emperor, King of Hungary, Dalmatia, etc. . . . to a Burgundy citizen of the vicinity of Dole. The letter was addressed by Maximilian to his Keeper of the Privy Seal "in our Duchy of Burgundy."

The second document was a letter from the Curé of Porrentruy, dated 14 May 1674, and addressed to Curé Toilot, chaplain of Belvoir. The Curé of Porrentruy asked for military information on the war Turenne was waging against the Emperor.

"Tell me quickly," said the Curé of Porrentruy, "all you know, particularly on the siege of Besançon."

In wishing to prove the German feelings of the population, Transocean

really shows that the Curés named by the Emperor of Austria were engaged in spying against the French.

Among the articles published by the Press about Burgundy, the most revealing is doubtless that which appeared on 27 March 1941 in the organ of the S.S., *Das Schwarze Corps*, one of the two or three papers enjoying a certain amount of independence from Goebbels and often exposing with cynicism the true intentions of the Reich. It is entitled "Poor Burgundy". Here is an unexpurgated translation of it:

"Lazily the Saône meanders through a landscape of hills, soft and graceful, whose variegated diversity is covered with forests, meadows, vineyards and fields. Here and there, visible from afar, the houses of the inhabitants of Burgundy lie snug. But the tragedy of this lovely country becomes evident as soon as we enter the villages.

It is not only that we are appalled by the dilapidation and filth which are one of the most striking images of a French village when we remember our dear German villages with their complete cleanliness.

"In this country of Burgundy, we stand today with our eyes wide open, and, as German soldiers, we see its proud German past forming assuredly part of our intimate German history. And this is what unwillingly wrings our heart; for after such a glorious past, the sad present appears to us in the following way:

"Dilapidated and depopulated villages, without the games or laughter of children, inhabited by a handful of old people, a dying generation, not having the slightest desire to set its farms, houses, fields or forests in order. For when these old people die, their houses will be empty. They have reconciled themselves apathetically to a fate of which they themselves bear the guilt. Their houses will crumble into ruins like many others which already stand empty and deserted.

"The mayor of the town, an old man, related how 832 people lived there forty years ago, whilst today there are 241. And these last survivors resign themselves to their fate as to an inevitable event.

"The squalor and disorder of their village and dwellings seem to be the natural attributes of this decline. What crass indifference!

"Innumerable curs of mongrel breed wallow in the dung-heaps which are strewn in the streets in front of the houses.

"Dirty and neglected, the cows make their way to the drinking-trough near to the village fountain which serves at the same time as a wash-house for the women.

"These fountains are characteristic of the village. They are enclosed by a stone building open on one side, and frequently the roof is supported by beautiful columns, recalling an epoch of splendour, a splendour long since vanished.

"Not far from there stands a large and once imposing château abandoned to complete ruin in the midst of an old park, also neglected. The columns supporting the parapet of the wide staircase are shattered, the windows gaping and the floors rotting, while the doors no longer close. The ruins, in general, remind one of souvenirs and legends, for there is nothing so desolate as a house, a château brooding in ruins. But the cemetery, close by, is the personification of utter abandon.

"Formerly the Burgundians left the stretch of country between the Vistula and the Oder, and migrated towards the west in search of a country where they could establish themselves. It was then that the kingdom of Burgundy on the Rhine border originated, of which the ancient Worms forms the nucleus and of which the legend of the Niebelungen illustrates the decline (A.D. 437). The survivors of this kingdom departed towards the South and settled between the Saône and the Rhone. It is in the same

country that the German prince Arioviste had already led his people, Caesar having forced him to retire there after his defeat at Mülhausen (A.D. 58), thanks to the internal rifts which have been responsible for German weakness throughout their history, and which have for so long prevented them from forming an Empire.

"Towards 526 the newly-created kingdom of Burgundy became the centre of the German States of this period. It was surrounded on the north and west by the Franks and to the south and east by the Ostrogoths (Spain and Italy).

"Under Charlemagne, Burgundy became the jewel of the German Empire of Franks. After the schisms which split the heirs of Charlemagne, Burgundy was taken from the Reich (Treaty of Mersen, 870). It was re-instated in the Reich in 1033, but the quarrels of the German princes and their struggle against the Emperor or for the Empire once again caused its loss.

"During the course of the XIVth century Burgundy developed into a powerful kingdom situated between Germany and France. With the acquisition of the Low Countries she attained the zenith of her power.

"But when the king of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, died, the Emperor of the House of Habsburg and the King of France disputed with one another for his heritage. The Emperor succeeded in obtaining the Low Countries, but none of Burgundy except for the Province of Besançon. In this way Burgundy was lost to the Reich by becoming French.

"German blood had led this country to the height of its prosperity and power, then it became adulterated amongst strangers and finally perished with that which it had itself created. Like the Goths and Vandals, the Burgundians, by the addition of their fresh blood, were the means of salvation for other races of inferior breed.

"Actually nowadays all that rests to Burgundians is the name of their country. The inhabitants know practically nothing of its history or its founders, with whom nothing now links them. Admittedly one meets occasionally men with blue eyes, slim, and with blonde hair, but the Eastern-Western element, a bastard race of miserable aspect, renders it remote. It is hardly surprising, for it is German blood which the Knights of Burgundy shed in the Crusades so futilely, alas, for 'German' causes, in the 'Holy' places, for the greater glory of God, as they thought. In the wars of the Christian religion it was again German blood which flowed, for the Germans aspired to the liberty of their spirits and souls, and it is for that which they fought and died.

"When, during the French Revolution, the inferior race seized power by violence, all those of tall stature and a German air were correspondingly suspected of being the upper class, and therefore obliged to mount the scaffold. The words 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' which one can read today on the façade of every French school does not apply to them. It is to the German blood which flowed in the veins of the Napoleonic officers which fell in these wars of conquest like the officers of the kings of France.*

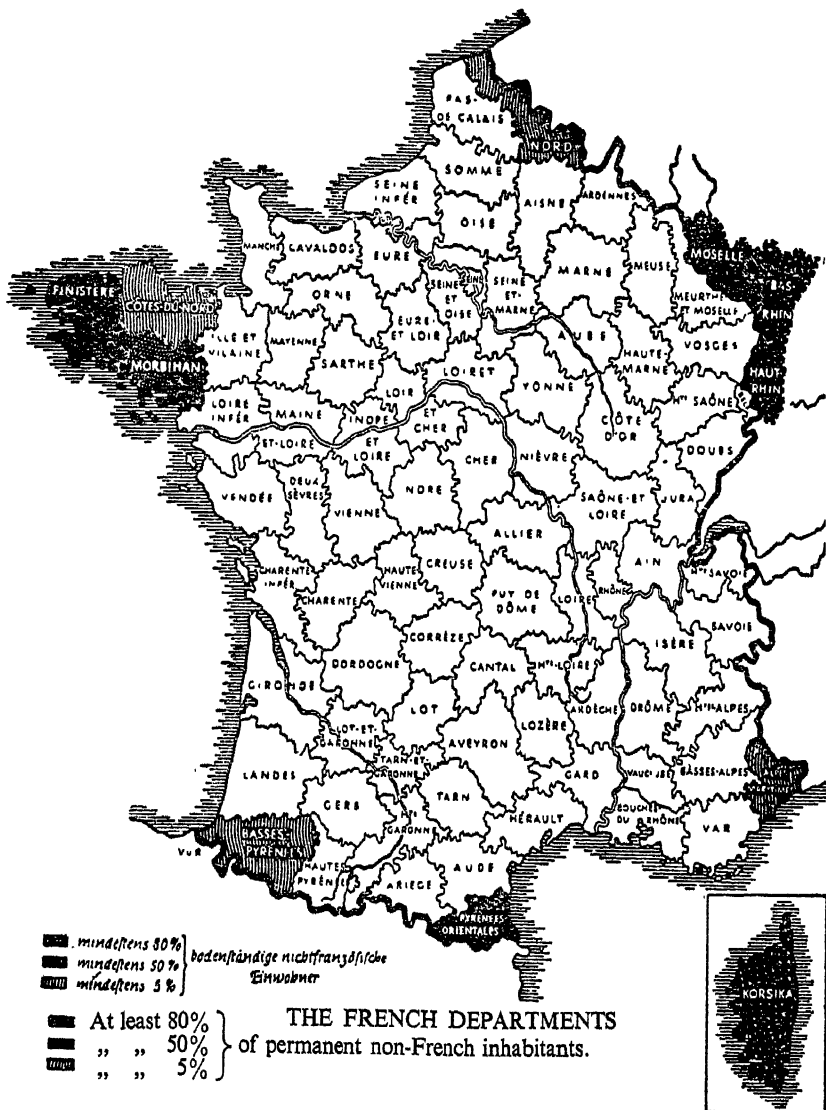
"Finally the Great War drained France of her last remnants of superior blood. Under the Jewish-Masonic governments of the post-war period, the general deterioration of the French people continued.

"Today, in Burgundy, the Germans find themselves again on old German soil, soldiers of a new German age. They see the traces and ruins of a past German culture whose founders were of the same blood as themselves.

"Deserted are the villages, neglected are the towns; a third of the country lies fallow; this is the Burgundy of today, the beautiful country whose soil is so fertile, five centuries after her greatest glory. But our outlook is clear

* "The French Revolution in its insurgence against the wealthy and the nobility, constituted an anti-German movement: who can ever calculate how much German blood has been sacrificed by the death of the two million victims of this epoch?"—Ludwig Reimer: *Pan-Germanic Germany*.

Die französischen Departements



NOTE : It is noteworthy that Bretons, Alsatians, Lorrainers, the inhabitants of the Nord, the Lower Pyrénées, the Eastern Pyrénées, Alpes Maritimes and Corsica are considered as being non-French by the Germans.

and looks towards the future. Our hearts are full of gratitude towards our Führer who has redeemed the Reich from a fate comparable to that of Burgundy. That which formerly lay in ruins is reborn greater and more powerful than ever, and we are assisting in the reconstruction of the German Empire of the United German nation."

Even the paper with the greatest consideration for foreign public opinion does not conceal the intentions of the Reich. On 24 December 1942 it recalls that

"Othon I married the Burgundian Adelaide. Barberousse married Agnes, heiress to Burgundy, so that Burgundy became a member of the Reich. The Seigneurs of Ferrette and the Habsburgs possessed Belfort. Neither Burgundy nor Belfort nor the Gate of Burgundy formed a frontier, for at this period Burgundy formed the south-west corner of the Reich."

Today it is the Sundgau. Burgundy, the Sundgau and the Brisgau form a kind of harmonious scale upon which the Reich modulates a melody of her power. The influence of precious Burgundian art has extended like a vein of rare metal as far as the abbeys of Hirsau and Ellangen. It has permeated the Roman and Gothic churches of the Souabe. The passionate religious reform which developed at this period carried this art beyond the Gate of Burgundy, the ever-attractive threshold to the wanderer. This art was also welcomed and assimilated well beyond these regions. Later, the Swabian counts of Württemberg succumbed to the eternal attraction of Burgundy. Until the Napoleonic period they retained their possession of Mompelgard, or, the French Montbéliard.

Besançon, capital of the Franche-Comté, is frequently referred to as a German centre. Meissner mentions it on several occasions in this sense, and the *Pariser Zeitung* blatantly writes :

"The citadel of Besançon dominates the countryside. Vauban constructed it under the commission of Louis XIV when the king wrested the Franche-Comté from the Reich, to whom it had belonged for centuries.

"Further on, a Gate rises whose towers recall the genuine style of the Middle Ages. They might grace any other German city. It is called the Rivotte Gate. We are here in the old Besançon, imperial and free city which was formerly called Bizans. Many times it has seen within its walls Kaisers and Reichstags. It was in Bizans that Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, spent the Christmas festivities before his pilgrimage to Canossa, there that Barbarossa saw for the first time his young Burgundian fiancée, Beatrice. Charles V also took residence in Besançon. His Chancellor Granvella built the Renaissance Palace which one can still see in the centre of the town. Its silent yard is bordered with arcades. The Besançon of the Roman period crumbled into ruins at the troubled time of the migrations of the peoples. Churches rose on the site of temples. The oldest, St. Etienne, was erected on the heights of the citadel. It was consecrated in 1049 by Pope Leo IX. Six hundred and twenty-five years later it was razed by the French conquerors.

"Vauban built fortifications on its ruins. After the Roman eagle, Besançon saw the reign of the German eagle. It is still today the emblem of its coat of arms and is engraved in stone above the Hôtel de Ville which dates from the XIVth century. . . .

"It is Sunday. The bells chime along the Doubs. We can hear in their ringing the echo of the ancient free Imperial city of the Holy German Empire."

And there are abundant testimonies from escaped Frenchmen, who have heard German officers repeat many times: "At all events, after the war, Bizans shall remain a German city!"

EMPIRE TERRITORY

"On our Eastern and Western Frontiers we would be equally in a position, provided we fought the war for an Integral Germany, to demand some surrender of territory. We would then people all such territories with German peasants."

Germany at the Beginning of the XXth Century, by a German. Berlin, 1900 (*Deutschland bei Beginn des 20ten Jahrhunderts von einem Deutschen.*—*Militär-Verlag.*)

ARTICLE 2 of the Peace of Brussels,* which the Germans drafted in 1906 to impose upon France as soon as she had been defeated, contains the following stipulations:

Par. 2—"France provides a shelter for the inhabitants of this territory (East of France) and settles them elsewhere. The ground is divided into portions of from 40 to 60 acres and distributed to German soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the war.

"It is imperative that we should have to the west of Alsace-Lorraine a purely German Province, so as to solve once and for all the problem of Alsace-Lorraine."

The history of the occupation of the Forbidden Zone is a repetition of the measures taken for the realization of such a plan. These measures are the same advocated by the Pan-Germanists of the XIXth century, expulsions, colonization, Germanization of the remainder of the inhabitants through bribery or compulsion, seizure of the whole economic system of the nation, shattering of the French unity by opposing against each other the various social strata of professional bodies, etc. . . .

Massive expulsions were not necessary. The population had fled at the approach of the invader. It was sufficient to prevent it from trickling back, which was the aim of the creation of the zone. But it would have been unwise to reveal it as early as 1940. Thus Germany invoked the poor pretences we have reviewed. She even carried cunning to the extent of pretending the interdiction was a temporary one and assuring that the authorities were elaborating a repatriation scheme.

In the so-called "Free Zone" the refugees were growing restless. Some attempted to return in spite of everything. They were mercilessly pushed back, sometimes fined or arrested. M. Adrien Marquet, then Minister and Home Secretary, had to publish on 24 August 1940, a Bulletin,

"bringing once more to the notice of refugees that a whole section of the occupied zone is still forbidden, and that its exact boundaries have been stated in a Bulletin issued on 11 August. The refugees coming from such territories have, for the time being, no means of returning: either they will be arrested on the boundary line, thus being in danger of finding themselves without supplies or dwelling, or they may, as exceptions, succeed in reaching the boundary line. In this case they will be packed into camps where conditions of living will be more precarious, where the refugees are more numerous. The refugees of the Forbidden Zone, then, have everything to lose in leaving their present place of refuge. The influx of individuals to that zone can only

* See chapter "Western Franconia."

take place when they are provided with a special visa by the German authorities, and such visa will only be granted them in very exceptional circumstances."

The circulation between the Forbidden Zone and the rest of the country was interrupted. Not only peasants were forbidden to return, but demobilized men as well, young men freed from Youth Camps and interned soldiers coming from Switzerland. Officials appointed by Vichy were unable to join their posts.

In a Note sent to General Vogl, President of the German Armistice Commission, General Doyen, President of the French Delegation, having on 31 January 1941 explained these facts, added :

"A certain number of people, estimated at about 120,000, having succeeded in returning home by fraud, are now threatened with expulsion by the German authorities. The Prefect of the Meuse has even been notified that the Chiefs of Staff keeping in their employment Civil Servants who have returned to the Forbidden Zone without a pass expose themselves as well as their subordinates to the severest penalties."

One hundred and fifty persons having returned fraudulently to the territory of Saint Mihiel were condemned to pay a fine which amounted to 3,000 francs for farmers possessing 60 acres and to three months' imprisonment.

Such persons had the option of being enrolled instead to perform five months of "voluntary labour" in Germany.*

During the whole course of the year 1941, Vichy was informed by the Prefects of the Somme, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Aisne, etc., of everything that happened in their country.

In the Somme, three people were killed and two others seriously injured while attempting to cross the line, and to all French Notes recalling the temporary character of the interdiction to return to the zone which concerned 300,000 refugees, General Stulpnagel gave evasive replies.

In fact, all interdictions were maintained, and if some unfortunate refugee managed to return by endangering his life, he lived under the menace of arrest.

In these regions, depopulation was made more serious through massive deportations, and in the Note we have mentioned above, General Doyen declared :

"The recruiting of French workers for Germany, in the Forbidden Zone, is proceeding in an intensive way, chiefly in the counties of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, and regular police round-ups are organized, after which thousands of Frenchmen are taken away from their homes. There is good ground for wondering whether the National-Socialist Government is not trying to depopulate systematically one part of our territory to set up Germans there as it has done in Alsace-Lorraine."†

There is good ground, in truth, to ask the question.

These police raids went on for two years, and in a report on the situation which was published between 10 and 31 July 1942, the Prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle informed Vichy that more and more agricultural labourers were leaving his province and going towards the Moselle and the Haut-Rhin, the Bas-Rhin and Germany.

However, on the whole, in order to depopulate the country, it had almost sufficed to stabilize the state of things deriving from the hardships of war,

* The *Petites Ailes*, clandestine French paper, June 1941.

† It is because he had not hesitated to denounce this danger that General Doyen was, in August 1941, relieved of his office with his Chief of Staff, Colonel Lorbert, on the request of the German authorities.

thanks to which the "compulsory migrations" advocated by Klauss Wagner in 1905 had been carried out by German Panzer formations.

Then the Reich undertook the realization of the second part of the plan : colonization.

At the end of January 1941 the French delegates in Wiesbaden received a new Note. It made clear that, in Europe reorganized under the Reich's control, it was inadmissible that whole regions should be left uncultivated. Germany, considering herself responsible for the Continent, could not tolerate such a state of things. In consequence, she had decided to entrust "an Agricultural Society" the task of exploiting the territories abandoned by the French (*sic*).

The so-called "Society" was the Ostland, abbreviation for *Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschaftungsgesellschaft* (Society for the Agricultural Development of East German Territories).

The Ostland had been founded in 1939 to set the ground conquered in the East in production, in fact, to confiscate it from the Poles and give it to the Germans. An organ of the Supply Office of the Reich, the Ostland was under the control of Ministerial Director Lauenstein.

The Germans had long delayed informing General Doyen of its activities in France. The Ostland had been more than three months at work. A circular from that society, dated 22 November 1940, said :

"It is necessary that the Ostland should at once take charge of the agricultural settlements in the Ardennes county" . . .

"Since the autumn of 1940, the Ostland, having become henceforth Westland," declared candidly the *Berliner Börsen Zeitung** (Ostland meaning Eastern country, Westland, Western country), "has set to work in the East of France, on the stretch of occupied territory the ever-widening course of which goes from the Manche to Burgundy. It is a territory of about two millions of arable hectares (more than four million acres)."

The Ostland established its headquarters at Paris and six branches on the circumference of the forbidden zone : at Amiens, Laon, Mézières, Charleville, Nancy and Dijon.

These six towns were the centres for six W.O.L. (abbreviation for *Wirtschaftsbeherleitung* : Higher Economic Direction). They were numbered from one to six, starting from Amiens and finishing at Dijon, and had under their orders the agriculturists of the district (*Bezirkslandwirte*) and the chiefs of exploitation (*Betriebsleiter*).

The creation of the six branches was necessitated by the diversity of methods of culture and nature of properties in the Forbidden Zone, a diversity which called for the application of different methods to achieve the same end. This was the creation of the largest properties possible. For the future, colonists drawn from the "master race" were to reign like lords over vast domains.

In addition, the territories over which Germany hoped to dominate were so extended that even a nation of 100,000,000 inhabitants would have difficulty in furnishing the personnel necessary for this domination. We shall see that even the process of French colonization was hindered by the lack of necessary personnel.

The Ostland functioned in such a way as to effect amalgamation where the properties were split up, and generally to adopt a policy suited to local conditions.

"In the Aisne district, where large cultivations predominate, the W.O.L. had merely, as a rule, to take over the direction.

"In the Ardennes, after having confiscated small properties, the W.O.L. at Mézières unified them to make large and medium-sized areas of cultivation, to a total of 189,000 hectares (nearly 400,000 acres).

"In the Rethel region, the heart of the Mézières district, the Germans

* 24 July 1941.

created 40 large holdings from 750 to 7,000 acres where 4,500 labourers were employed by 100 German overseers, including five "District Agriculturists," with three machine ploughs, 73 tractors, etc., at their disposal.

"To the Sedan district, which is chiefly grazing country, the Germans sent 15,000 head of cattle and sheep, *en pension* from the Reich.

"In Meurthe-et-Moselle, the military lands were allotted to colonists, while in Burgundy the society was content to give advice to the peasants without cultivating the land directly."*

How were these confiscations operated? The Circular No. 6 of the Ostland, published 22 November 1942, declares:

"The following are to be taken over: agricultural cultivations, lands and the material in possession of troops† or either abandoned by the owners or not cultivated according to German methods.

"The lands and material in French hands are left entirely to their dispositions for the time being, until new orders!" . . .

"Until new orders!" The New Order!

Thus, from 22 November 1940, instructions were given to the Ostland to take over properties which had been either abandoned or cultivated by methods other than German.

This did not prevent the *Gazette de Francfort*, from saying, on 11 November 1942:

"Only the fields abandoned after 21 January 1941, the latest date given to the peasants to return to the village, were appropriated by the Ostland."

Or the *Börsen Zeitung*:

"The inhabitants who returned before 21 January 1941 have recovered their lands."

Moreover, when the Germans affirmed that they would only appropriate lands abandoned, and justifiably, by their owners, they lied again.

Effectively, in a letter dated March 1941, General Doyen wrote:

"The method of procedure is as follows: The Ostland commandeers the largest farms (375 acres) in full working order. The French occupants are expelled and a poor yield results, because the peasants are unfamiliar with local conditions. These take good care not to stay in abandoned farms, which as a rule are stripped of implements, cattle and machines. They find it more convenient to take over the whole organization in perfect functioning order."

Reality is even worse than the German theory. It was not only the abandoned farms which they confiscated, but, on the contrary, those which the peasants, who remained, had put into good order, while the peasants were dispossessed.

If the proprietor were one of the 1,500,000 prisoners of war in the camps at that period, the property was taken by the "District Agriculturists" and given to a German immigrant. The Berlin radio boasted in February 1941 that "thousands of German farmers, like soldiers on active service, were sent to France to take possession of French farms."

* *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 11 November 1942.

† Note in passing a comic touch. The Circular adds: "If the army units refuse to disgorge the land, cultivations and material, one must remind them of their given orders. Dispense with all discussion."

If the proprietor were not a prisoner of war, he was directed to ask for agricultural implements and machines from Ostland, and before obtaining them he was submitted to all kinds of pressure by the Germans, who were desirous of taking under their direction the control of the property.

How was the Ostland to secure the "farm hands" to work under the supervision of "District Agriculturists"? The *Essener Zeitung* reveals it to us* by giving an account of a visit to the "French countryside" in the following words:

"Our car enters the farm gate and stops opposite the vast quadrangle formed by the stables, granaries and dwelling-houses. A corporal comes to meet us and greets us cordially. One sees that he is glad to find fellow-countrymen and to talk to them. The master of the house wears the German uniform. He is manager of one of the most important and best agricultural holdings of the Reichsland Society (the new name for the Ostland) in the district of Rethel. The district overseer who accompanies us explains the position. For nearly two years this great estate of about 2,000 acres has been exploited by this young Westphalian farmer. Thanks to his technical experience and to the strict discipline he practises on his farm, he has succeeded in considerably increasing the yield. It is true that on his farm in Westphalia it was he who, before the war, chiefly helped his father. But what are ten or fifteen acres when one suddenly becomes the master of 2,000 acres and has the responsibility of the management of so extensive a domain?

"During the autumn of 1940, the German Army has taken steps to procure the necessary labour, French civilians, liberated French prisoners compelled to work, coloured prisoners from Algeria and Morocco, and lastly international agricultural workers, Poles, Belgians, etc. . . . Thus, the French peasant who had not, and for good reasons, returned home by 20 January 1941 had his property confiscated by the 'Reichsland' 'so that it should not remain uncultivated.'

"Made prisoner in 1940, his family having fled before the invasion, he was dispossessed of his land. Then he was brought back through the good offices of the German Army to work without pay, in the capacity of a 'freed prisoner' compelled to work 'under the command of a young agriculturist from Westphalia, who imposes on this farm a strict discipline.'

"In the little village of Fieulaine, in the county of Aisne, a German overseer nicknamed Herr Virus by the population, has taken under his supervision three estates. In one of them the owner has been 'authorized' to work on his own land for a salary of 1,500 francs per month. The owners of the second were two women. They were compelled to work in their own fields for 20 francs per day each (1 mark).

"Then, thanks to the French soil, and with the help of Polish, Czech, Belgian and Moroccan prisoners of war, the German chiefs of the Reichsland undertakings in France contribute more and more to ensure the supply of foodstuffs for Europe."

In July 1941 Backe, Reich Minister of Supply, made a tour of the Forbidden Zone, and the accounts and commentaries published by the German papers were likewise very significant.

After having described the Ardennes district as a barren land, forsaken by men, the *Berliner Börsen Zeitung* (24 July 1941) said:

"The work of the Ostland fills one with great confidence as to its capacity for forming an *élite* of agriculturists, farmers, administrators and peasants. It is a true school of agrarian methods which is being constituted here.

* 11 and 13 November 1941.

An *élite* of German agriculturists is learning on the spot to have a wide outlook and to work according to the European standard."

Work, "according to the European standard," means to "force Europeans to work for the Germans."

Darre, Reich Minister for Agriculture, reported this declaration in January 1942:

"In the New Order, a new aristocracy of German farmers will enjoy alone the right of owning the land. And for its cultivation, slaves shall be put at its disposal, and French slaves too!"

The distrust of the Ostland was not limited to territories for colonization. It also spread to industries affiliated to agriculture.

In this way the Ostland commandeered the mill of the Candre at Briey, whose owner had not returned. He had, needless to say, lodged several requests in this direction, in which he asserted his title of head of the estate. All his claims were of no avail. Then, as he had not appeared before 21 January 1941, "last date permitted to the refugees," the Ostland assumed control of his mill.

At the beginning of July 1941, the Director of the St. Gobain Glass Works at Cirey-sur-Vesouze was informed that, on the request of M. Hermann Roëchling, the German authorities were contemplating the requisitioning of extensive buildings belonging to the said company. The Director was ordered to put at the disposal of Herr Roëchling the desired workshops, in spite of an intervention by the Prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle.

The operations of the Ostland finally reveal the methods Socialist Germany intended to use in order to disrupt the French community, and afterwards to Germanize easily absorbed stratas.

The Ostland granted the French personnel in its employ a salary clearly in excess of the normal. Thus, measures taken by the French administration for the maintenance of salaries and prices at their existing level were inflated, and the labour crisis inflicted upon French overseers was aggravated.

One day the mill of the Candre requisitioned by the Ostland in Briey ground some corn and sold a hundredweight of white flour to the bakers of the neighbouring boroughs. Immediately the other bakers, who saw their customers patronize their colleagues who had the advantage of selling such a superior article, raised protests.

One can easily imagine what advantages a Germany retaining a stranglehold upon the prohibited zone would have. It would be child's play for her to foment riots between workers and employers, to ruin the latter and to oblige them to leave the country, to coerce workers to work in Germany, to despoil the peasants gradually, to reduce them to the level of proletarian agricultural workers in the service of German colonists, while the insurgents had the means of reaching the centre of France.

Together with the policy of colonization and the demographic measures taken after the Armistice, there were other quite superfluous proofs of the German scheme of annexation.

A stretch of territory extending for five miles on both sides of the Forbidden Zone was subjected to borderline regulations. One needed to cross that line an *Ausweis für den Kleinen Verkehr* similar to that customary in peace-time between two foreign countries.

The clandestine paper *Les Petites Ailes*, always conspicuous by the trustworthiness of its information, reported* declarations from competent

* 10 April 1941.

German officers that the county of Meurthe-et-Moselle and the Belfort territory would undoubtedly be annexed after the war. Similar declarations were recorded by many other witnesses.

The Ostland, however, had altered its name. It was now called *Reichs-deutsche Landsbewirtschaftungsgesellschaft*; in an abbreviated form, *Reichsland*, which means "Empire territory."

This was the name Bismarck had given in 1871 to Alsace-Lorraine after its annexation. The new Empire territory was to include 80 per cent of the industrial and mining resources of France and place Germany's frontier at a distance of 75 miles from Paris.

It was in the same way that the annexation of the Südetenland had deprived Czechoslovakia of 80 per cent of her industry and put Prague within reach of the guns of the Reich. One knows what the next step was!

Such is the history of the Forbidden Zone from 1940 to 1943. No well-informed Frenchman could have the slightest doubt as to the intentions of Germany.

However, during the years 1942 and 1943 one notices a very clear evolution in this policy. Colonization measures tend to relax. The frontier of the Forbidden Zone becomes less rigid: gradually the supervision slackens to the extent of becoming pure formality in the end.

Finally, on 20 May 1943, Circular 147 issued by the Vichy Government authorized the needy to return to the North Forbidden Zone.

"Allocations granted to refugees would only be paid to those whose return is not encouraged by the Refugees' Bureau from their country of origin."

The Forbidden Zone had ceased to exist.

What had happened? Was our analysis guilty of extra pessimism? In no way whatever! And the true reasons for this relaxation were of an entirely different order.

Up to the time of the declaration of war against Russia there is no mention of any modification of the German attitude. But soon, in spite of their assertions, the Germans realize (we have made it clear, by simply studying the German Press)* that "this campaign will be difficult and costly. Germany will need men, many men. Now she is short of men. The colonization of Poland, the occupation of the whole of Europe, need a greater army than the Reich can muster." It is not lightly that we make this declaration.

As early as 5 September 1941, *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* (The German Agriculturist), an official publication, printed a leader reviewing the need Germany has of colonists. This very earnest review asked the question: "Will German agriculture be capable of solving with its own strength the problems it has to face?"

After a very thorough survey, *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* reaches clearly pessimistic conclusions. The needs of Germany are greater than her possibilities and they are still "increased by the recovery of the Eastern and Western territories."

"Western Territories" means France. "One estimates," goes on *Der Deutsche Volkswirt*, "that next year 200,000 new young men and girls will be required to assume tasks which are essential to German agriculture. 60,000 out of those 200,000 will be needed merely to undertake the management of farms."

If *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* used such words in September 1941, what could it have said in 1943, if it had again referred to this question?

It is clear that the lack of man-power prevented Germany from pursuing, in the Forbidden Zone, the policy of Germanization she resolutely carried out in 1940.

We shall see the same thing happen, with still more brilliancy, in the colonization of Lorraine. Besides, military prospects were becoming darker

* See *The Russian Campaign Through German Eyes*.

and darker for Germany. Soon, in exalted circles, nobody had any illusions as to the issue. But, if the war was lost on military ground, it could still be won politically. Now, in this channel, Germany had no interest in displaying her true designs, neither to France nor to the world.

She would, then, if not proceeding in reverse gear, at least mark a cautious pause.

It was nevertheless true that, in the course of many months, she had shown her true face.

Then, dazzled by the glamour of the allied victory which was progressing, with a hesitating hand she put on her mask again.

THIRD PART

BRITTANY

GERMAN works on Brittany fill the libraries. On one point they all agree: Brittany is not ethnically French. Tortured under the Parisian yoke, she must be delivered as soon as possible—a humanitarian task which Germany must undertake.

This handsome generosity does not prevent her from proclaiming by the mouth of all her theorists the inferiority of the Celtic race. The most brilliant theme is undoubtedly that developed by Dreismans in 1899 in his *History of Civilization, Explained by Racial Instincts* (*Kulturgeschichte der Rasseninstinkte*).

According to Dreismans, the Celts are not only an inferior race, but have corrupted the Germans by introducing the cult of feminism. Louis XIV, a fine German, set the bad example with his Celtic mistresses.

“European politics, at least during the last three centuries, since France asserted her supremacy, have been governed in the essential spheres by the Celtic race, or more precisely the Irish race.

“The first Christian missionaries to submit the Germans to their intellectual yoke emanated from Ireland, and later this isle of promises dispatched its beautiful women to the Continent. They undertook to turn the heads of their German masters established on European thrones, in important and influential positions or high society.

“If the men of the Celtic race were the musicians, comedians, jugglers, masters of ceremony, cooks and priests of the superior German people, their women were the courtesans and mistresses. Since the time when France, with Louis XIV, became the first power in Europe, and set the tone for modes and manners, this part of the world was under the domination of women. However, the woman who, in Paris, dictated fashion and distinguished manners was not the indigenous Frenchwoman but a Celtic courtesan. The German women of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries attired themselves like Mme de Maintenon and Mme de Pompadour in the same way that their husbands modelled their lives on those of French noblemen. Thus woman ascended to the first rank in Germany also, and she became the focus of interest. The feminist cult, ‘skirt politics,’ these two phenomena anti-Germanic in nature appeared and were propagated in German countries.”

Bismarck also mistrusted the Celts—“a feminine, passive crowd”—and with him practically all the Pan-Germanists.

Let us not be misled. It is not merely to disintegrate France that Pan-Germanists have conceived the idea of an Autonomous Brittany. The blood fanatics estimate that in allying themselves with Bretons, the French of German race pollute the blood which runs in their veins. It is to prevent these misalliances that Bretons must be alienated from France. In Integral Germany the Bretons would certainly not have received the right to intermarry with “non-Celts.”

Without any doubt, these theories provide a smokescreen destined to camouflage a perfectly simple manoeuvre: the construction of a magnificent naval base at Brest.

It is probable that a von Seekt, or even a von Reichenau, indulged in a sardonic grin upon reading Dreismans: it is also possible that they were convulsed with laughter: but it is certain that they saw immediately the fashion in which military imperialism could exploit this humbug. It is upon this

foundation that the militarists and grandsons of the Pan-Germanists immediately came to an agreement. Moreover, Bismarck qualified as a "fine piece of charlatanism" a treatise elaborated by a professor of Leipzig, which demonstrated the rights of Prussia to Silesia, but he shortly availed himself of it in order to justify a project which he was contemplating, namely to seize, in time of peace, this province from Maria-Thérèse.

Amongst the mass of Pan-Germanists, the mental conviction is not so clear and straightforward, if one may say so. Proof of this was furnished by the genuine stupefaction which they experienced on the check to the Separatist policy in Brittany. They themselves had come to believe in their Breton Autonomy.

This example offers unparalleled lessons. Firstly it shows us once more the Germans victims of their own propaganda. Then it reveals by what contortions of thought the principle of self-government by the people, which the Germans scorn so much, has been deflected from its sense to be turned against France. Finally it leads us back to Fichte, so dear to the Nazis, who enunciates the principle of laying aside all scruples when it is a case of conflict with the enemy; and to Goebbels, when he says:

"We have never concealed the fact that we make use of democratic institutions to seize power before destroying them." In the same way the principle of the right of the peoples is utilized for laying hands on Brittany, in order to abrogate the right in question: that of allying with the "French."

Until 1914 the only special claims formulated by Brittany were of a linguistic nature which envisaged the maintenance of the Breton language.

It is only after the war that an Autonomist movement begins to manifest itself. It was inaugurated at Rennes by a certain number of young people, for the most part non-Bretons, and its anti-French nature was studiously camouflaged. A weekly review, *Breizh Atao*, of which the directorships were fairly varied and the publication intermittent, strove to impart to local patriotism, already lively, a Separatist influence.

It is difficult to know at what date the Breton Autonomists established contact with the Germans. That which is certain is that in 1927 relations were established when a pretended "Committee of National Minorities in France" appeared, which grouped Corsicans, Flemings, Alsatians and Bretons. The Alsatians led the game. The Committee of National Minorities in France was the creation of Paul Schall and Karl Roos, founders of the *Landspartei*, the Autonomist Alsatian Party. But the actual idea of the Committee did not originate with them but with their patron, Robert Ernst, who was the chief of the organization of Alsatians and Lorrainers living in the Reich. And Schall worked, as he himself admitted,* under the orders of Robert Ernst, who directed the operations from Berlin. The organization of Alsatians-Lorrainers of the Reich, later affiliated to the V.D.A. (*Volksbund für das Deutschtum in Auslande*), was subsidized by the Reich and published an artistic magazine on Alsace-Lorraine.

In 1927, at the time when the agents of Ernst created the Committee of Minorities, it was not the Nazis who were governing Germany, but, in fact, the Social-Democrat Stresemann.

Of course, when Hitler rose to power, Ernst and his organization were provided with still more extensive means, and he was able to pay a regular subvention to the Autonomist Breton movement. It was then that was set up a scientific agency of organization of information and documentation on Flanders, Corsica, etc.

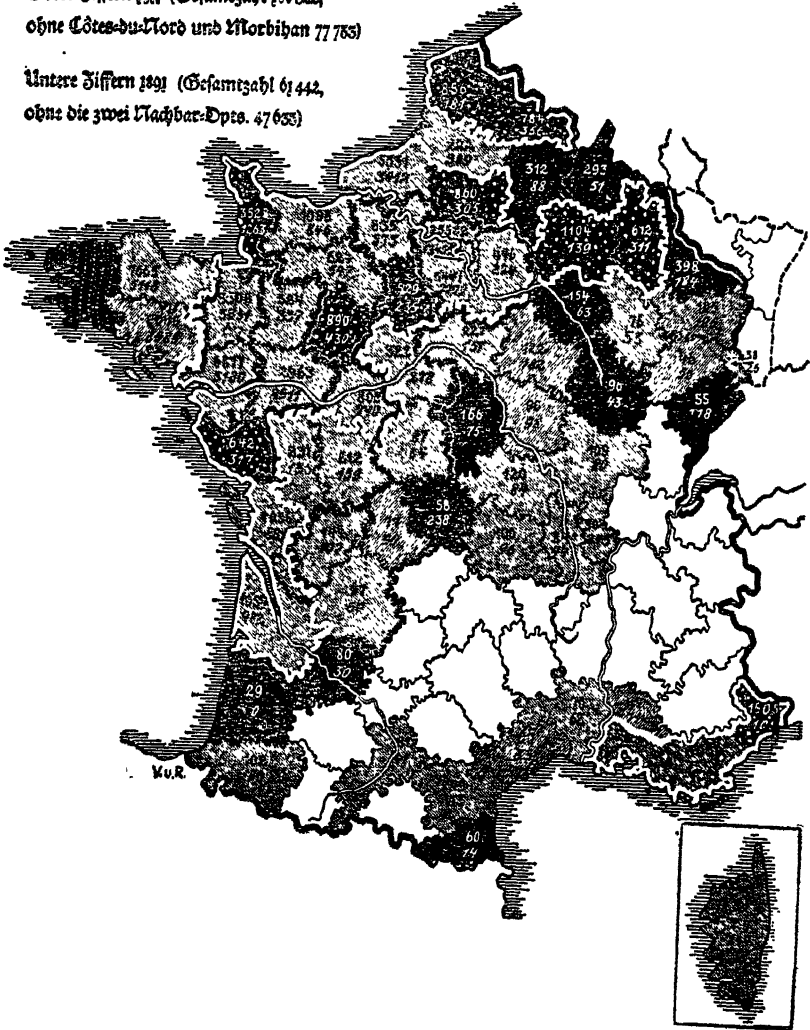
The part played by Ernst's agents in the organization of the dismemberment

* See the chapter "Founders of Autonomy."

Sinistère-Bretonen im übrigen Frankreich, 1911 und 1891

Obere Ziffern 1911 (Gesamtzahl 100 522,
ohne Côtes-du-Nord und Morbihan 77 753)

Untere Ziffern 1891 (Gesamtzahl 61 442,
ohne die zwei Nachbar-Dpts. 47 635)



DISTRIBUTION OF BRETONS IN FRANCE IN 1911 and in 1891

Upper Figures: 1911

(Total : 100,522. Without Cotes-du-Nord and Morbihan : 77,753).

Lower Figures: 1891

(Total : 61,442. Without the two adjacent departments : 47,635).

of France would have been brought to light if certain French politicians, some of whom still intended to play a part after the war, had not suppressed the activities of Alsatian Autonomists.

Collusion between Germans and Breton Autonomists became a fact during the winter of 1938-39, when the British police discovered on the beach of Jersey two cases of Separatist leaflets and tracts, freshly printed by one of the chief publishing firms of Leipzig.

Then, as soon as war was declared, the two leaders of the movement, Mordrel and Debeauvais, who, incidentally, were not genuine Bretons, prudently disappeared and took refuge in Germany.

In Brittany, never had an Autonomist candidate obtained more than twenty-five votes in the poll. The Bretons, ardent regionalists, proud of their past and of the traditions of their Province, despised such attempts of Separatists. The political influence of the movement was negligible.

Inside France, also, "attempts" organized against statues only made people laugh. It was a mistake. The matter to be concerned about was certainly not "Breton Autonomy" but the fact that the Germans did not feel strong enough to attempt the execution of a plan which, within the framework of the great scheme of the destruction of France, did not seem to offer a character of urgency. The serious question was that, in the headquarters of the Autonomists in Rennes, a skilled journalist was relieved of enormous bundles of brochures concerning not only Brittany, but Corsica, Catalogna, Franche-Comté and the Thiois State.

To sum up, the serious matter was that Germany could thus play her little game under the nose of politicians.

Breton Autonomism had sprung from Alsatian Autonomism, and soon after the Armistice the Germans used towards Alsatians and Bretons similar methods. Stating, on principle, that the Bretons were not French, wishing to convince them, like the Alsatians, that they had been conscripted by force in a foreign army to wage a war which was no concern of theirs, the Germans had the idea of offering Breton prisoners their freedom. Germany, protector of oppressed nationalities, would not confuse the executioners with their victims.

Breton officers and soldiers, when taken prisoners, were not sent to Germany; they remained on the spot in improvised camps, where their mothers and wives could visit them; they had the option between freedom, if they adhered to the Autonomist movement, and captivity in Germany if they were adamant. All those who had exercised municipal offices, town-hall clerks included, had the benefit of enjoying monthly holidays, an excellent means, thought the Germans, of ensuring the collaboration of the framework of the local administration.

A similar propaganda campaign was launched with the 300,000 Breton prisoners of war already in Germany.

In August 1940 the German High Command prescribed a census of all Breton, Alsatian and Corsican prisoners, with the aim of repatriating them. The order was partly carried out and several tens of thousands of prisoners born in Brittany were regrouped in special Stalags to await their return home.

Similar steps were being taken in the case of Alsatians and Lorrainers. But, while they were being set free at once, the natives of Brittany had at first to declare that they were "Bretons," that is to say, "non-French."

Now, even the prospect of an immediate return home could not in any way alter the loyalty these men were showing towards the French community.

A collective report from 180 officers and men who had escaped through Russia from Germany is typical in this instance:

"In Oflag 2D in Pomerania, Bretons were ordered to register: not a single officer among the 6,000 present in camp offered to do so. The Germans altered their formula, and carried on a census, not only of Bretons,

but of officers 'born in the counties of Brittany'. Then, in order to be sure of the real feelings of those concerned, they questioned them. The result of the enquiry was conclusive: not one officer consented to buy his freedom at the cost of treachery."

Enquiries conducted in the camps of Brittany brought about similar conclusions. Everywhere Mordrel and Debeauvais appeared, their audience, exclusively consisting of Bretons, hooted them down. Hardly 200 poor wretches accepted to be liberated, and soon, out of this number, hardly thirty or forty agreed to call themselves "Separatists."

Then the Germans avenged themselves. In September 1940 the prisoners who had remained in Brittany were sent to Pomerania and to East Prussia, including a certain number of people "freed conditionally," whose special "captivity furloughs" were cancelled.

As to Breton privates and N.C.O.s, who, sent back from Germany after the Armistice, had been regrouped in view of their liberation, they were put to work in the Polish labour camps and along the Russian frontier.

Thus ended this attempt to conscript those of non-French sympathies among the Breton soldiers.

However, as soon as the Armistice was signed, 300 Breton prisoners were liberated *ipso facto* through the office of "Autonomist" leaders who had carefully selected them.

After having entertained them lavishly in hotels requisitioned for the purpose by the Germans, the Autonomist authorities endeavoured to gain them to their cause; they made to each one a present of a civilian suit of clothes and a hundred francs, and sent them back to their homes after having given them a thousand prospectuses printed in Germany which they were to distribute to their fellow-countrymen. They accepted their liberation, but were careful and cautious enough not to circularize the tracts, where one read among other remarks: "Let us save Brittany from disaster, by proclaiming her to be separated from France. It rests on us alone and on our resolve, in the days to come, to make again of Brittany a free and happy land or to see her disappear for ever."

A similar theme of propaganda was being engineered at the same time at the other end of France: "Germany has saved Alsace from ruin and decadence."

Having in this way "prepared the ground," the Autonomist authorities called on 5 July 1940, at Pontivy, by means of a newly constituted "National Council of Brittany," formed with four persons, a Congress which was to proclaim the severing of Brittany from France.

The Congress was booed by the Bretons. Not even 20 members of the audience were in favour of Separatism; a monster demonstration was formed to the strains of the Marseillaise, and Debeauvais, besieged in the Château de Rohan by an enraged multitude, only owed his safety to the intervention of German armed forces. On the same day riots broke out at Quimper, where the venerable Bishop of the Diocese, Monseigneur Duparc, Dean of the Breton prelates, caused a letter to be read in all the churches of Finistère, a slashing "warning" stigmatizing the action of the Separatists and denouncing them as traitors to Brittany. The enraged Germans suspended the "Religious Week" for three months and forbade the *Quest-Eclair* to publish Monseigneur Duparc's letter. The Gestapo called on every Bishop in Brittany to prevent them from imitating the Bishop of Quimper.

However, Debeauvais, who had been installed by the Germans in Rennes, launched, with resources multiplied tenfold, a major propaganda campaign. He organized in the Château de Rohan, in Pontivy, a Breton Militia, a kind of "Protection Squad," also in charge of the Propaganda.

Its members wore a white shirt, breeches and black riding-boots. It was the uniform of the "Help Organization" (*Hilfedienst*), which, in Alsace, preceded regular Nazi organizations.

On 14 July 1940 was published the first number of the weekly paper *L'heure Bretonne*. This periodical was freely distributed in Brittany by German lorries, and the Separatists succeeded in forming a team of 20 hawkers whose mission it was to sell their paper in the streets. There was an immediate reaction everywhere they appeared. An eye-witness declared at the time :

"In numerous towns of Brittany, people were not satisfied to boo newspaper-sellers, to hoot them down or to tear their papers ; but they retaliated by singing the Marseillaise, by acclaiming France under the very eyes of the invaders whose bewilderment was almost too comical to behold.

"However, the Boches protected their friends, and when, following violent outbursts, the hawkers were led to prison, they took steps to demand their liberation."

In Quimper, a hawker who sold an Autonomist paper outside the church one Sunday received a sound thrashing from the crowd which was going to the Prefecture, and the demonstration ended with the strains of the Marseillaise. The Germans did not dare to interfere.

The attitude of the Bretons was such that, in the end, the Germans had to confess that Debeauvais and his confederate Mordrel had been for them a great expense, bringing meagre results. They resolved to dismiss such unsatisfactory servants, whom they accused of swindling. At the end of November and beginning of December 1940 there were numerous meetings of the Gestapo. After long negotiations, *L'heure Bretonne* announced on 14 December the resignation of Mordrel and the nomination of Delaporte in his stead as chief of the Autonomist Party. This Delaporte, barrister at Châteaulieu (Finistère), was the former chairman of the Terrorist Society *Guen a Du* (Black and White).

As to Debeauvais, he was soon appointed, besides his functions of Breton Separatist, to a professorship of Celtic Language in the University of Heidelberg.

The Germans made a fresh attempt. The tone of *L'heure Bretonne* became less violent ; its articles were insinuating that it might be possible to come to terms with France, provided she proclaimed her intentions of collaborating with Germany, and a greater scope was given to "cultural problems." *L'heure Bretonne* persisted, that goes without saying, in claiming independence for Brittany. The Hour of Liberation, of the unique occasion, had struck. It was the hour of Brittany. It was Brittany's business to seize the opportunity. Then she would be able to entertain relations with other foreign countries without the intermediary of France.

The propaganda launched against the latter was in every feature similar to that developing in Alsace and Lorraine. Like those two provinces, Brittany under French rule was condemned to decadence and ruin.

Did not France, like a heartless stepmother, paralyse the development of Brest, the finest port of the country, to the benefit of Havre or Bordeaux ? And, however, is not Brest, owing to its geographical position, the natural link between France and the United States ? But France, in her will to destroy the Breton people, systematically prevent Bretons from having access to responsible positions in the State administration.*

By all available means she represses the people of Brittany and works for their downfall. One proof of her scornful hatred is the film *Bécassine*.

The new attitude of *L'heure Bretonne* met with no more success than the preceding one. A subscription, the proceeds of which were meant to provide the editorial staff of the paper with a rotary printing-press, had to be abandoned. A Breton almanack, whose first edition had been advertised as numbering 50,000

* Compare with the declarations of the Germans on Alsace and Lorraine. See the chapter "The Wicked Wolf."

copies, was never published. In *L'heure Bretonne* all contributors had pseudonyms. The editor-in-chief could not find three of them to sign their own names.

The Germans were still bewildered; as methodical as ever, they undertook to make extensive enquiries. Under pretence of studying the country's folklore, a mission really bent on securing information as to the population's feelings toured the provinces.

Following this enquiry, the Germans decided to abandon the Separatist formula and to stake everything on "Regionalism."

The promoter of this new tactic, von Delvig, was an intelligent "petty squire." He set to work, and with the help of a puppet freed by him from captivity he published on 20 March 1941 a new evening paper, *La Bretagne* (Brittany), which, in pretending at first to be hostile to Separatism, deceived the good faith of the population. In fact, the part played by *La Bretagne* was, under the pretence of strengthening local patriotism, to prepare the ground for Separatism.

Von Delvig's efforts remained fruitless. In November 1941 a Breton summed up the position:

"*La Bretagne* may have experienced at first a little success born from curiosity. But we know, from an accurate source, that its actual output is limited to 50,000 copies, half of which are unsold."

Complimentary copies were multiplied under pretext of canvassing.

More than 80,000 Bretons received the paper free of cost for a fortnight, after which they were invited to subscribe. A post-office official has certified that almost all free copies were refused by the recipients.

At that time there appeared in Brittany *Breizh Atao*, a magazine written in the Breton language, and the *Dépêche de Brest*, transferred to Morlaix because of the bombing of Brest by the British. The staff were constantly forced to reduce the circulation of the issues. In March 1942 the *Dépêche de Brest* was requested, under penalty of suspension, to transfer its shares to a group of six persons, among whom were included M. de Grammont, M. Tiercelet, M. Fouéré, and M. de Guébriant, the latter being the owner of *La Bretagne*. M. Paul Simon, proprietor of the paper, had withdrawn after having demanded the removal from the headlines of the name of the founder, Desgrées du Loup. *La Province* had been cancelled. The *Nouvelles Rennaises* published articles translated from the German as well as the "ultra-Catholic" *Nouvelliste*.

L'heure Bretonne, which had not a single subscriber, was circularized free of cost.*

It was obvious that the failure suffered by the Reich in Brittany would in no way alter its resolution. In spite of the way facts had given the lie to their theories, the Germans pursued their campaign.

In a piece of reporting on Brittany, *Das Reich*, organ of Goebbels, declared on 21 September 1941:

"Brittany, where that which meets the eye is as alien to France and her customs as that which we see in Alsace . . . I speak lightly of crime committed against men, of children crying, dismissed from schools for having used their mother-tongue, old women unable to obtain justice in their own country, in their own language . . . for nearly all of them are compelled to know French."

* One should read in No. 32 of the Review *Les Documents* the information gathered by the Service of Publications of Fighting France—the account based on a report from France of the magnificent resistance of the Bretons to the invader. We have borrowed long excerpts from this report to write the preceding pages.

The zealous reporter related that one Breton had proudly declared: "We have a consonant which we spell c'h and pronounce as in the German word *hach*.*"

Collaborators paid by Germany followed suit. A certain Jean Merrien published in the *La Nouvelle Revue Française* of August 1941 an article entitled: "Breton: A Language of French citizens," in which one could read: "France is a hen, which has not hatched, but adopted a duckling!" and also: "A place has been given in France to the study of Celtic dialects, a place, moreover, mediocre in comparison with that set aside for it by a country who is not directly involved like Germany!"†

Not directly involved indeed!

Early in February 1942 Vichy declared that the teaching of local dialects was optional in schools, after school hours. Thus, von Delvig, the man who had imagined staking on "Regionalism," scored a point.

The Vichy paper published the Carcopino Decree in a little obscure section of the issue, but the German-controlled French Press gave in Paris a suitable place to this important item of news. It was conspicuously spread out in three columns at the top of the front page of *Paris-Soir*, and naturally comments ran fast.

Before the publication of the Carcopino Decree, the Prefect of Finistère had told various personalities of Brittany that the time was ripe to authorize the teaching of the Breton language. The Bretons retorted that, while approving the idea, they would not subscribe to its taking effect under German domination.

In Alsace, where specialists and sponsors of Breton Autonomism watched the unravelling of the affair as they would have watched their own offspring, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, while registering this first success, faithful to the methods of Hitler, immediately lodged exaggerated claims.

The paper expressed surprise at Vichy's timidity and asserted that the new measure had been taken "under the pressure of various minorities."

"It is, as one sees, the try-out of a modest beginning, and it is now a matter of knowing whether the Vichy Government will draw the consequences of a state of things acknowledged by itself, that is to say, if its real intention is to restore to French provinces their former way of living, or if it has simply yielded temporarily to the pressure of Minorities (*Minderheitswölker*) in order to cancel, later on, when it feels stronger, the granted concessions."

It is quite significant, and it is a striking confirmation of our thesis, that the newspapers following most closely the internal affairs of Brittany should have been the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* in this Alsace from which formerly the Germans pulled the Autonomist strings of France, and the *Echo de Nancy*, French paper under German control, printed in the capital of Western Francia about which Reimer dreamed.

The *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* periodically published reviews of the situation in Brittany, among which that appearing on 20 August 1942 offers a special interest, because it gives the German version of the facts we have borrowed from other sources.

"After the defeat of France, voices have been heard in Brittany accusing the Third Republic, and demanding that the old promises made to that Province should be fulfilled.

"At first, the old movement 'Breitz Atao' had a revival. It was the

* The quotations from this piece of reporting are borrowed from the French underground paper *Vérités* of 5 October 1941.

† *Ibid.*

champion of integral Breton Nationalism. It demanded a radical cultural reform, based on the Breton language and the Celtic tradition. It wanted to turn Brittany into an Autonomous State. Lately, this movement against which the French administration fought desperately has withdrawn from the political stage and has been replaced by another calling itself 'Federalist'.

Its leader, François Jaffrenou, whose Celtic name is Taldir,* has recently published in *Le Matin* the claims of the Federalist movement of Brittany. He declared among other things :

"We must awaken from its long sleep the ancient Celtic culture and infuse it with a new life. It is our will that the Breton should recover the treasures of his old literature and customs as well as his national festivities." . . .

The declaration added, in particular :

"The Federalist movement had to overcome at first a stubborn resistance, not only from the administration but also from the clergy, who feared a 'Renaissance of Paganism,' but we have emerged triumphant from the struggle. The Union of Breton Federalists does not indulge in politics and has no more interest in religious questions. The question for it is to rekindle Celtic traditions.

"In the New France, Brittany must enjoy a special Statute, based on the Treaty of 1532 which united this Province with France.

"The Breton language will be taught in schools and Breton Civil Servants shall undertake the administration of the country.

"From time immemorial, the Treaty of Alliance of 1532 has been a subject for discussion in Brittany. The dynasty of the Dukes of Brittany became extinct at that time, owing to the forced marriage of the last Duchess of Brittany with the presumptive heir to the throne of France.

"The signed Treaty foresaw that the liberties of Brittany would be forever safeguarded. Like other conventions of the same type, it has been treated as a scrap of paper by the French Revolution.

"A policy of assimilation has since been pursued in this country so different from the other provinces. Both from the spiritual and economic point of view, Brittany has declined.

"For France, this country had above all the importance of furnishing a constant supply of manpower. It is thus that during the Great War France mercilessly used as cannon-fodder the sons of Brittany. Their losses have been four times greater than those of French regiments ; Breton sailors have constituted the main elements of the crews of the Navy. Without Brittany, the French Navy would undoubtedly have remained insignificant.

"Since the last decade of the past century there are in Brittany some movements, either cultural, political or religious, whose aim it is to bring back to the Bretons the consciousness of their ancient originality. The struggle for freedom in Ireland, with a certain racial analogy with Brittany, has given a tangible impulse to the Breton movement, chiefly during the ten years which preceded the present war.

"A decree of Marshal Petain has appointed for each French province a committee entrusted with the study of the Province's history, with rekindling the habits and customs of the district and teaching the young love for their small fatherland. In various provinces this appeal has hardly found any echo. But in Brittany, the Federalist movement, called 'Gorredd,' is very active.

"Without any doubt, it is very interesting to follow the evolution of such tendencies ; it will be seen whether the Jacobin ideas about equality, which have had such harmful effects, will be overcome."

* In Breton language, "Steel Forehead."

In fact, thanks to the National Revolution, and with the help of its régime over which the Germans watched with so much solicitude, a Breton organization had been constituted in the month of August 1942 in connection with the Vichy Government.

It had its headquarters in Rennes, and was called "Consultative Committee of Brittany." "The event has not caused any sensation, though it is of some 'importance,'" declared Radio Paris on 3 March 1943.

The German station, broadcasting in French, emphasized that this Consultative Committee includes "the most important Breton groups, and its mission is to pass on to the delegates of the central administration the wishes and grievances of the *élite* in the spirit of the decentralization movement, but to refrain from any Separatist tendencies."

That is the usual formula. It was applied for many years by the Sudeten and Alsatian Autonomists, according to the instructions and methods of Hitler. Radio-Paris went on :

"As its name shows, the Consultative Committee has only a power of preliminary investigation ; it prepares the Reports that the regional Prefect examines and which he puts into practice as he thinks fit ; the first reports presented the basic programme of Breton Regionalism ; re-establishment of Brittany in her traditional boundaries, that is to say, including Loire Inférieure.* The creation of a Provincial Council formed with delegates from commons and corporations, teaching of the Breton language in the schools where it is spoken in the district, and the appointment of Breton Civil Servants and of a Governor.

"The programme has been handed to the Government by M. Quenette, who naturally could not guarantee its rapid execution, *most of the problems raised being of a constitutional nature.*

"But in the course of the last months, reforms of minor importance have taken place ; for instance, the Breton language may now be taught optionally in schools and teachers receive a special grant in payment for their lessons. The Breton has a place in the curriculum for official competitive examinations by which are recruited prefecture clerks, town-hall clerks and police superintendents. A training college will be created for the benefit of Breton teachers. Lastly, all statues removed from their pedestals for the recovery of bronze *shall be* replaced by other effigies carved by local sculptors."

And Radio-Paris exulted to see "the relations between the *French State and representatives of the Province of Brittany develop in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and friendship.*"

The *Echo de Nancy* gives us almost abundant information on the events taking place at the other extremity of France. On 26 February 1943 it published the following lines in its item "Armorican Life" which was regularly dedicated to Brittany :

"Thanks to the kindness of the French educational authorities favourable to the regeneration of the Breton language, a group of elementary and other teachers have circularized a bulletin entitled *An Eost* (The Harvest) destined to serve as a link between members of the 'fundamentally Breton' teaching staff† loyal to their historical and literary traditions. The first issues contained invaluable academic notes on the teaching, both grammatical and

* It is striking to notice that in 1905 Reimer, subjecting France to the analysis of his racial spectrum, added, after having considered Brittany : "Together with Loire Inférieure, Nantes and St. Nazaire are a great subject of interest for the Germans in 1900 and in 1940."

† Translation, to be used in Brittany, of the famous *Volksdeutsche*—"Fundamentally German" applied—to Alsations and Lorrainers.

practical, of the Breton language, on the songs of Brittany and on the history and geography of the *Celtic Fatherland*.

"The new publication will enable many members of the teaching profession to give a share in their syllabus to proficiency in the Breton language, spoken by many who do not know it thoroughly and in all its original beauty. *An Eost* will help to make good such a want."

A few days later, 2 March 1943, in the *Echo de Nancy*, appeared an article on "The Example of Brittany," in which it was demonstrated that "Minorities are responsible for revolutions":

"Historians show us from 750 to 825 a broken-up Brittany, a prey to international strifes, of divided leaders struggling with the bellicose Franks. Suddenly a man had arisen, a little peasant, poor but intelligent: Nominoé; by his rapid action, his stubborn will, he put an end to revolts. He negotiated with the threatening Franks; he repressed all seditions (in a word—a real Hitler!). He forced the Franks to return the neighbouring counties seized by the Bretons. The latter soon took umbrage at the behaviour of one whom they had considered as the envoy of God. They accused him of treachery. Conscious of his calling, Nominoé did not deviate from the path he had chosen. He could have placed himself at the head of the Breton forces to fight the Franks, whose numerous armies could easily have defeated him. He would have died the death of a hero. But he considered such sacrifice useless. He would choose rather to be the first statesman than the powerless warrior for his Brittany.

"Henceforth, his work was at the same time that of a peacemaker and of a diplomat. He thus ensured for his country, with the assent of the Emperor of France, a frontier towards Vannes, then he succeeded in reaching the Vilaine. At last, in his capacity of envoy of King Louis le Débonnaire, he gave the territory of Redon to the monks of the Redon Monastery, for he understood what use he could make of them to build up the Breton independence.

"Abuse was heaped upon him, yet he pursued his mission and obtained the proclamation of the independence of the Brittany he had founded after having conquered Rennes and Nantes. The same Brittany was to be laid waste during a quarter of a century by the Normans, and suffer for two centuries the tyranny of the king of England.

"It was in the middle of the XVIth century that the province had been linked up with the crown under the strict conditions of keeping its privileges and its ancient liberties. It rose against the Revolution of 1789 when the latter attacked the Monarchical and Catholic ideals. The constituante divided it into five counties, territorial divisions which are still surviving now.

"When he died, Nominoé had done his work. He had founded a united, interdependent, prosperous Brittany, built up by a Leader and a handful of Bretons. The minority of former years had since become the majority, the immense majority. And if a good number of Bretons, courageous and bold sailors, spend part of their life at sea, they always keep a passionate love for their native land, on which, after years of navigation and exile, they have the will to achieve their long and arduous existence."

Thus, as soon as the Armistice was signed, Germany endeavoured to apply in Brittany the plans for the dismemberment of France that she had prepared a century before.

To proclaim Brittany independent would not only have served to sever

her from France. It would also have enabled the withdrawal from the French community of citizens of Breton origin, living inside France and henceforth declared to be Breton citizens.

If Germany did not carry out these plans, it was that military events did not allow her to do so.

Having to face the admirable resistance of the Bretons, she did not wish to raise against herself, in the Brest hinterland, any administrative complications, and even disturbances. The establishment of an Autonomous Brittany was, after all, more a hindrance than a useful possibility, as long as the war lasted.

The whole affair, after Victory, would have been settled with a stroke of the pen !

FOURTH PART

I

ALSACE AND LORRAINE—LAND OF HARSHIPS

IN following Germany on her march to the West, we should, in our first stretch, have surveyed Alsace and Lorraine.

The reason why, up to now, we have held back such a survey is because to the French bank of the Rhine have been applied concurrently, and with the fullest consequences they imply, all the theories and methods, some of which have been only partly carried out, some in the forbidden zone, others in Brittany, others in the occupied zone.

Thus the history of the occupation of Eastern France presents a general synopsis on Pan-Germanism in full swing. And it is also in Alsace and Lorraine that one can see what results it is possible to obtain with a test of this kind.

This history teaches us a great many things. Not only French people, but the whole world, threatened by the scheme for the setting up of a Universal German Empire, should ponder over them in order to inspire their future policy, and take good care to see that their efforts to bring about peace among men should not prove an illusion.

In the mouths of the Nazi leaders who settled in Alsace and Lorraine we find, word for word, the same ideas which have been expressed by the Jahn, von Moltke, in the course of time.

The measures taken in these two provinces are exactly those which Fritz Lang, Reimer, Klauss Wagner, etc., had advocated.

And the heroic resistance of Alsatians and Lorrainers is a proof that in the hearts of men the love of freedom is strong and constitutes the very essence of the soul of France.

The Germans started by stating on principle that Alsace and Lorraine were of German blood—which they did not prove—therefore the Reich, universal trustee and protector of this blood, has the right to annex them.

It also has the right to reintegrate in these provinces the so-called German blood which issued from them. Then French prisoners of war born in Alsace and Lorraine will be freed and repatriated; the inhabitants evacuated to Dordogne at the beginning of the war shall be brought back home; Alsatians and Lorrainers, wherever they should be, will be invited to return.

Inside the country some souls were on the road to perdition. Men who, led astray by falsehood, and having fallen into ignoring their true nature, believed they were French because their tongue, their names and that of their village were French, would be returned, by means of "adequate measures," to the German mother-country. They would have to learn again the language of their ancestors and readopt the German surname which they must have had before.

The blood thus retrieved and returned to the Reich will have to be immune from any contamination. The Jews shall be expelled. Memories, books, languages, inscriptions, names of streets, French monuments will disappear; and Alsatians and Lorrainers shall be warned against the Christian religion, inimical to the Germal soul.

Then will be carried out successfully the process of re-education which is to give back to the German Alsatians and Lorrainers their original purity. Institutions, Nazi organizations, papers, theatres, radio, cinema, and above all the schools, will impart to the "rediscovered kindred" the faith in principles without which the German soul is subjected to the influence of the Powers of Evil. The youth will go to "Schools of Germanism," Civil Servants will attend lectures on political education, the village mayors will go back to school in

order to learn again the German moral principles according to which the blood, and multiplication through procreation, play a foremost part, before self-respect and love of the family.

This blood must be strong. Colonization carried out by Germans from beyond the Rhine shall form on this land a "bulwark of German blood," and Germanism shall control all sources of wealth and power; banks, agriculture, commerce, industry, etc.

There will be a sorting-out among the inhabitants. Those revealing themselves as irremediably corrupted shall be expelled towards France; if their re-education appears possible in the unadulterated bosom of Germanism they shall be deported to Germany.

Between these two extremes the bulk of the people will remain without any definite status, some exposed to deportation in the German Purgatory, the others to being expelled to a French Hell.

But the chosen for the Valhalla, those who have received "citizenship", henceforth worthy of fulfilling the duties of citizens, shall be sent to the Russian front!

Such is the plan of ideology. In fact, it is used in justifying the seizure of territory, the looting of a country, and, under a new guise, the renewal of the invasion which laid waste Europe after the coming of Christ.

The defensive reaction of Alsatians and Lorrainers, citizens of a civilized world conquered by the force of arms, but faithful to their ideal, will crystallize on the very morrow of the Armistice.

It shall increase to find itself opposed by a repression more and more ferocious, but endless penalties up to the time when those who, in 1940, had been called "rediscovered kindred" shall constitute the *élite* and vanguard of those who fight for the liberation of France.

But this revolt will not shake the faith of the blood-worshippers! If the Alsatian or Lorrainer dies for freedom rather than embrace the new idolatry, it is because the corrupting evolution was still more advanced than science foresaw it. The task of the Reich, as saviour, was made the more urgent. It will be the more hard. Redemption shall demand greater sacrifices. The sublime part of the German mission will consist in not giving way in front of extreme hardships, not hesitating to shed blood. This German blood which is being shed shall achieve its salvation by its very sacrifice.

And the cult of the idol shall sanctify all crimes!

THE RIGHT OF BLOOD

"Some of you will say, 'We are French and not Germans.' To this, I reply, 'Who are your ancestors? You have no free will in the matter. Your nation reclaims you!'"
GAULEITER WAGNER, December 1940.

Bismarck was a tyro. When, in 1871, he annexed Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, he justified it with all kinds of strategical and economic considerations. Without doubt linguistic and historical reasons were also advanced, but they formed only one chapter of a memorandum which in its entirety was but a speech of defence. Those who wished to leave the country were allowed a period of two years, and, on paper at least, facilities for transplantation. This was the nefarious question of the exercise of option.

After the Armistice of 1940, and even before, as we shall see, the Third Reich assumed a position conforming much more closely with Herder's philosophy, and with the theses derived therefrom by the Pan-Germanists. The German victors proclaimed that Germany had the duty of annexing these provinces, and that in the name of the sovereign principle to which the Reich owed its existence,

the law of the blood. It was expounded a hundred times, in Alsace as well as Lorraine.

It is indubitably in his speech of 30 August 1942 that the Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel gave it its most clear exposition by declaring:

"The democratic régime, as well as the dynastic, controlled and influenced by the Jews, have proposed in principle that the will to belong to such and such a people, or such and such a state, is the only decisive factor. Which means that whoever wishes is French, English or American.

"We National Socialists support an entirely different doctrine. We contend that it is impossible for a white to become negro at wish. It is also impossible for German blood to change its nature by a simple act of will. It is not a case of human will, but that of the Creator who groups those elements which go together. God has bestowed on each race its characteristics and a predetermined blood."

It is the same theory repeated several times in the mouth of the Gauleiter of Alsace, Robert Wagner. On 15 November 1942 he declared at Strasburg: "We hold our right from God himself; it is the right of living together which men of the same race and blood possess."

And 8 February 1942 at Guebwiller: "It is not men but God who has created the different nationalities. All that remains is for you to incline yourselves before the will of God."

The question being thus posed, it remained to be proved that Alsatians and Lorrainers are of German blood. The Germans dispensed with all demonstration. They would have had difficulty in doing so, for their own statistics (1913) mention that three-quarters of the Alsatians are brachycephalic, with brown hair and eyes.

They content themselves with the sort of affirmation made by Wagner in December 1940:

"Some of you will say, 'We are French and not Germans.' To this I reply, 'Who are your ancestors? What is your mother-tongue? What are the names of your towns and villages? German. You have no free will in the matter. Your nation reclaims you!'"

The newspapers devoted themselves to other proofs just as scientific, such as that put forward by the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* concerning the village of Rothau in the Bruche valley, where French is spoken:

"One has only to glance at a garden of children to realize that one is in a German country. One finds only with difficulty a single dark head. The existence of children with dark hair in this region does not in any case permit the conclusion that they are of French origin, but rather that they descend from another mountain-dwelling people of another race."

To be consistent with the Stuttgart school, the Germans should have shown that the blood of Alsatians and Lorrainers contained the indices which apparently characterize German blood. Actually, even if the pedants of Stuttgart had been rewarded with results in their researches, it would have been taking a risk to apply these tests in Alsace and Lorraine. It was thus necessary to employ the historical, linguistic, geographical, botanical and geological theses which have already made so much ink flow. This was the aim of Otto Meissner's large book: *Elsass und Lothringen, deutsches Land* (Alsace and Lorraine, German territory), which appeared in 1940. We have no intention of refuting the theses with which learned French and Germans have already vainly filled the libraries, or they entirely beg the question.

The only one under consideration is to ascertain what is the wish of Alsations and Lorrainers themselves. We see that they have replied in preferring expulsion, exile, ruin, prison, hard labour and death to domination from beyond the Rhine.

A few German arguments, however, deserve mention on account of their picturesque value: "A proof that Alsace is German is the asparagus."

In the very serious *Frankfurter Zeitung* one can read on 24 May 1942 the following lines:

"The growing of asparagus in Alsace proves that this province belongs to Germany. Before the war the customs barrier on the Rhine prevented us, but now we discover that on the other side of the river also is a bed of asparagus. A similar soil must possess similar qualities. For twenty-one years the French have endeavoured to prove that the soil of Alsace is everything—except German; and now, however, asparagus proves the contrary.

"The construction of the houses also proves that Alsace is German.

"Several celebrated French generals are Alsations. This also proves that Alsations have German blood, for Germans are the best soldiers in the world and degenerate France is compelled to recourse to them. Lyautey, whose real name is Lautenschlaeger, is further proof. In Otto Meissner's book one reads the following lines, but not without noticing their analogy to the words of Napoleon: 'Let them speak German. They always fight in French.' The number of German soldiers who have fought for France is enormous, to the greater glory of that country and to the detriment of the Reich. The Alsatian has always been, like the Swiss, a good soldier. Under the flags of Napoleon he reached perfection, and it is with Alsations and Lorrainers that France has waged all her battles against the Reich. The list of Alsatian generals who have been in the service of France is remarkably long: from Kleber, Rapp, Kellerman, Ney, Wimpffen, to Mittelhauser, Dentz, Huntzinger, and Lyautey (Lautenschlaeger). And it is precisely in Alsace and Lorraine that foreign regiments existed, the Royal Alsace, the Royal Bavarian, the Nassau Cavalry, Royal German Dragoons, Esterhazy Hussars, the mounted Alsatian Chasseurs, the Nassau Hussars, and the infantry of Nassau, the Royal Swedish and German Anhalt regiment, and the Swiss regiments Eptingen and Muralt. But not one of these regiments had a name more significant than that of the infantry regiment the Royal French German Infantry Regiment of Zweybrücken. (*Deutsche Königliche Französische Infanterieregiment von Zweybrücken*) or the Royal Two-Bridges.

Thus we can understand how a Frenchman as much a Germanophile as Count Gobineau protested in 1871 against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine:

"What constitutes in the loss of Alsace and Lorraine a calamity of the greatest magnitude is not the fact that a few hundreds of thousands of people and a few territories have been wrested from the country, but the impossibility in the future of utilizing for internal administration a population non-Latin, of enormous value and irreplaceable in her offices, workshops and regiments."

And certain Alsations remain faithful to France? It is conclusive proof that they are Germans, for fidelity is the distinctive quality of the Germans.*

Such reasoning not appearing altogether convincing, the Guard, the Guard of German Science, came to the rescue, and since the autumn of 1940 Joseph

* "At the battle of Pharsal, so decisive for the history of the world, the Germans fought for Julius Caesar: the Romanized Gauls had betrayed the Emperor in the hour of peril. On the contrary, the Germans showed as much fidelity as they showed courage. This fidelity to a master whom they had voluntarily chosen of their own initiative is the most significant German trait of character. This trait alone suffices us to recognize perfectly pure German blood." (Houston Stewart Chamberlain: *The Foundations of the XXth Century*.)

Bürckel created in Metz an Institute of Research on the Geography, Ethnography and History of Lorraine. This institute, working jointly with the "Westmark Institute" of Kaiserslautern, had for its purpose, quotes the N.D.Z. on 25 March 1942, "*to prove the spiritual and racial unity of Lorraine and the Reich.*"

This is certainly what should be called "inspired science"! A committee dealing with racial problems, with the same aim, was founded in Alsace.

But what good is all this science, since it had been decreed once and for all that Alsatians and Lorrainers "are of German blood exactly like Bavarians, Prussians and other German peoples"?*

The principle once established, consequences naturally follow in conformity with the ideology of which we have traced the history.

The first consequence is that Germany, universal legatee of the German blood scattered in the world, has the duty to annex Alsace and Lorraine.

She at once set about fulfilling it.

THE ANNEXATION

At twenty minutes past twelve, on 19 June 1940, the swastika flag was hoisted on the spire of Strasburg Cathedral. Hitler arrived a week later to see it fluttering in the breeze, on the anniversary of the signature of the Treaty of Versailles.

Accompanied by superior officers and by Minister Meissner, who had been a Civil Servant in Strasburg before 1914, the Führer, much moved, remained a long time deep in contemplation, gazing at the architectural beauty of the cathedral. He asked that all interesting details should be explained to him.

"On leaving the monument, he was acclaimed by numerous soldiers who had hastened to see him. After getting into his car, he turned to them, and pointing to the cathedral, he asked them, 'What do you think? Should we give back this jewel to the French?' And all the soldiers replied, 'No! Never!'"

Such is the account of Dr. Dietrich, Chief of the Press Services of the Reich. Scarcely master of Alsace, Hitler proclaimed to the world his will to annex her!

He had made up his mind long before, as Dr. Summer, Administrative President of the Reich, confirmed, when he came, in July 1941, to give a lecture to the Jurists of Mülhausen. He declared to them without mincing his words:

"We shall annex not only Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland, but also Switzerland."

Such words teach us nothing new. It is obvious that Integral Germany had to include all these fundamentally German peoples!

"As regards Alsace and Lorraine," added Dr. Summer, "the Führer himself offered these Provinces to France. However, you can easily understand the reasons and purport of such an offer. It is quite clear that the Führer would, at all events, later return these territories to the Reich." This "revelation" of Dr. Summer can only surprise those who had not watched the activities of the "League for Germanization Abroad", whose leader was Von Bohle. According to a leaflet printed and circularized before the war by the League, the Alsatians and Lorrainers are foremost among the Germans whom the Reich must reintegrate.

Already, German military authorities, who, since the occupation, had been

* Roth, Regional Leader of the Labour Front, Mülhausen, 21 May 1941.

entrusted with the administration of the country, had started to take the necessary measures to transform annexation into a *fait accompli*.

They had had the frontier posts uprooted and put back in the place they occupied in 1914.

Customs officials in green uniform were put on guard from Basle to Luxembourg, following the range of the Vosges.

And immediately French Civil Servants who, according to orders they had received from Bordeaux, had remained were expelled.

The Prefect of the Bas-Rhin, Mr. Viguié, had stoically remained at the post which had been assigned to him at Lutzelhouse in the valley of the Bruche. The Germans literally threw him out; then, holding him at the point of arms on the terrace of his residence, they began a thorough search of the offices of the Prefecture; the perquisition ended, without any explanation, Mr. Viguié was sent to Germany, jailed, and treated like a common prisoner; three months later he was left in the streets of Strasburg absolutely penniless.

The other Civil Servants were forbidden to re-enter their business premises. It was useless to argue. Lucky were those whose mishaps were not worse. Very often, on returning to their homes, they found their successor had already settled down, using their own furniture and their car.

Alsace and Lorraine were at the time under Army officials. However, in the occupied zone they were very correct in their behaviour.

On 7 August 1940 they handed over their powers to civilians. Joseph Bürckel, Gauleiter of Vienna, who had been Gauleiter of the Saar after the plebiscite of 1935, was appointed Civil Administrator of Lorraine and Gauleiter of the Saar and Palatinate.*

Robert Wagner, while remaining Gauleiter of Baden, was appointed Civil Administrator of Alsace.

Bürckel took charge on 20 September. He entered Metz in state. At the Town Hall he was presented with the keys of the city by Herr Foret, the last German mayor of the town.

Wagner and Bürckel set to work. It was a question of establishing the German law and administration in the two provinces, of introducing the financial and economic system of the Reich; in short, of annexing the country, in waiting for the peace treaty (as the *Hambürger Fremdenblatt* said) "to sanction on juridical ground a state of things already existent."

Lorraine was declared officially annexed to the Reich on 20 November 1940 by Bürckel, who, in Sarrebruck, in a great speech in which he outlined his policy, solemnly announced that Lorraine, Saar and Palatinate would henceforth form the Gau "Westmark" (Western March); with Sarrebruck as capital; and the "N.S.Z. Westmark" (the former "N.S.Z. Rheinfront") as the official organ.

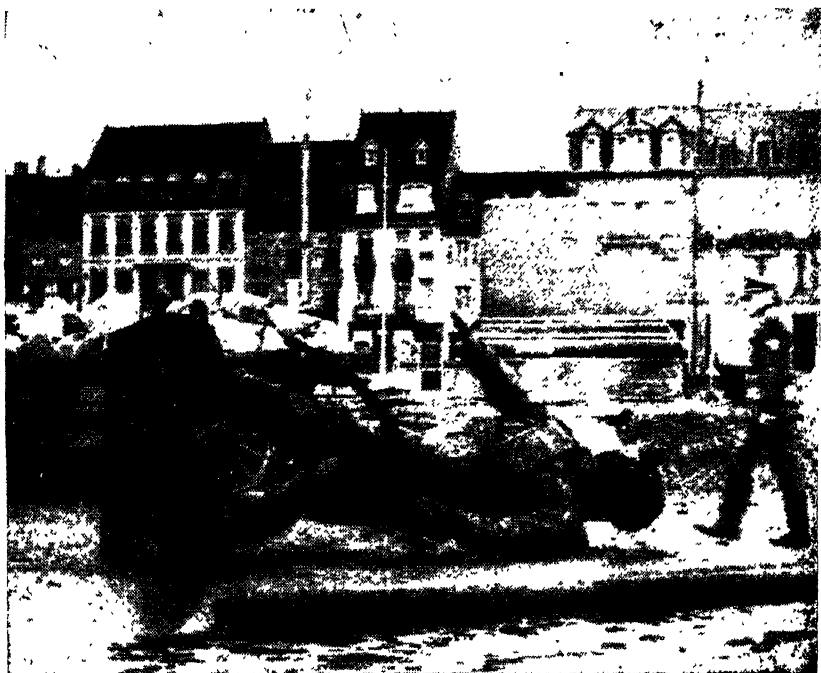
There was no such noisy demonstration to celebrate the official annexation of Alsace, since the presence at the head of its civil administration of the Gauleiter for Baden, Wagner, sufficed to guarantee its amalgamation with the Reich.† Some Civil Servants had been expelled under conditions we have already stated. Others were discharged, others again sent to Germany to become initiated into new methods.

The administrative system which was imposed upon Alsace and Lorraine had a dual purpose. On one side Civil Administration, on the other the Party. Their fields of action were parallel, without infringing upon one another.

At the head, the Gauleiter combined the functions of Chief of the Party and Chief of the Civil Administration. When it came to the District, the two

* He was replaced in Vienna by Baldur von Schirach, the former Leader of the Hitler Youth.

† "It would be necessary, it seems to me, to unite Alsace and the Grand Duchy of Baden into a kingdom of Alemania, with, this time, Strasburg as capital. Such a state of things should before long give full satisfaction to the Alsatians. Moreover, it would have the important consequence of giving the State of Baden, which in present circumstances shows so little vitality, real consistency and firmness. As to the populations who, already by nature, are seeking each other's help, it is clear that, on both sides, they are in perfect harmony."—Constantin Frantz: *Die Weltpolitik* (World Politics), 1882-1883. T.11, pp. 48, 49.

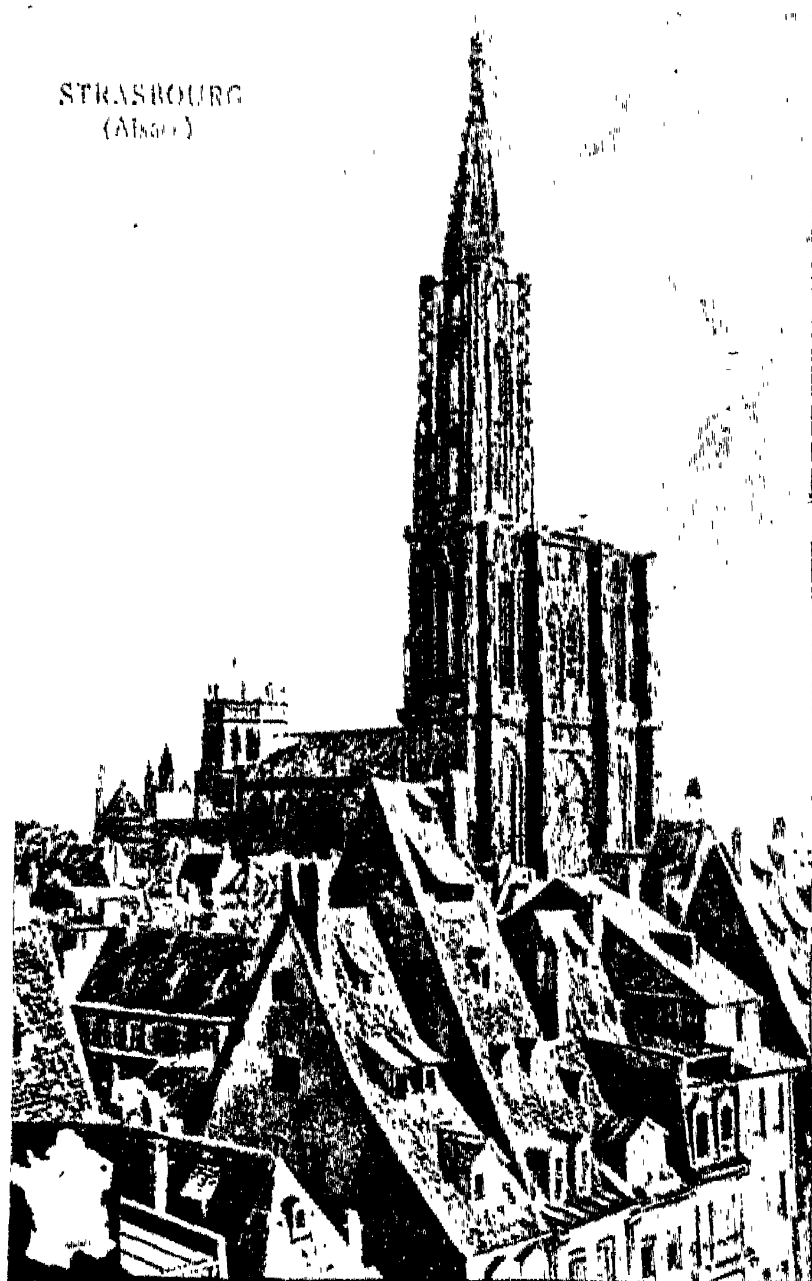


Monument of General Rapp destroyed by the Germans



Special stamp issued for Strasburg

STRASBOURG
(Alsace)



FRANCE

Clandestine Post-card

organizations separated, one watching the other, both under the vigilance of the police wearing the uniform of the Party (*Sicherheitsdienst*)—the latter in turn spied upon by the Secret Police (Gestapo).

This functioning may be simplified by the following synopsis :

GAU

Governor : Gauleiter, Leader of the Party and of the Civil Administration.

DISTRICT I

Party

Chief : *Kreisleiter* (Chief of District).
Duties : Organization of different formations of the Party (S.S., S.A., N.S.K.K., H.D.F., H.J.B.V.M., etc.)
General watch over individuals on political ground.

Has under his orders :
The Labour Front.

Chief : *Kreisobmann*.
Represented in each firm by a delegate (*Obmann*), with the peasants by a *Bauernführer*.

Informers :

(*Vertrauensmänner*) selected among the population to watch their fellow citizens (for political reasons).
Chiefs of blocks of dwellings (*Bloek-leiter*) watching over a particular block of houses.
Chiefs of Cells (*Zellenleiter*) keeping watch on the Chiefs of a block of houses in a district.

Civil Administration

Chief : *Landkommissar* (Sub-Prefect).
Duties : General Administration. Has under his orders Administrative Services :
Finance (*Finanzamt*).
Labour (*Arbeitsamt*).
Schools (*Schulamt*).
Commerce (*Wirtschaftsamt*).
Health (*Gesundheitsamt*).

At the head of the borough or chief-town of the district : all municipal services and municipal police.

The Gestapo (Secret police of the Party and the State).
The Police (*Sicherheitsdienst*) of the Party, in uniform.

No important decision could be taken by the civil administration without the approval of the Party which directly represented the State. Thus the *Landkommissar* must report to the *Kreisleiter* under whose authority he really was.

The whole theory round which the scheme revolved is that the Administration, sluggish by nature, had need of an engine to set it in motion ; this engine was the Party.

In practice, the opposition between two groups of Civil Servants, the combination of their prerogatives and their jurisdiction, the power exercised by the two police forces, to which was sometimes added the Army Secret Police, allowed spying on everybody's actions. And this combination offered the possibility of giving the same affair a different solution, according to whether it was considered under a political or administrative angle.

This system once established, the Gauleiters began to introduce one by one or simultaneously the laws of the Reich.

As early as October 1940 it was announced that soon German law would be in force. The inhabitants were invited by notices to secure for themselves German Civil, Commercial, Penal and Criminal Codes, Highway Codes, Civil Servants' Code, etc.



Aufnahme: Weltbild

Die Reichskarte der NSDAP. nach ihrer Gaueinteilung zeigt, daß die Grenze des Großdeutschen Reiches heute dort liegt, wo sich historische Grenzen mit der Grenze von Sprache und Rasse vereinen. Die innerpolitische Organisation, das Abbild zielbewußter Festigung, umfaßt auch die Gebiete, deren Menschen im Verlauf des Krieges in das Reich zurückkehrten

THE GERMAN GAUS

All such legal structure could naturally not be imposed at once. The adoption of preparatory measures was urgent, otherwise the life and activity of the whole country would be paralysed and disorganized.

Besides, it was necessary for those among the magistrates and judges from Alsace and Lorraine who had been left on the spot to become familiar with the

German laws. In order to re-educate them, specialists came to lecture on the spirit and regulations of German law.

Two years later, all German laws were adopted. We will mention the chief stages of this process which it would be superfluous to retrace step by step.

Early in 1941 Alsatian posts were annexed to the Administration of the Reich.

A large part of the French Civil Code still operating in Alsace was abolished on 1 August and replaced by corresponding German legal dispositions.

In particular, marriages and divorces were submitted in future to the German code. The laws of Nuremberg came into force with a vengeance: "Law for the protection of German blood and honour"* forbidding marriage with Jews, with those afflicted with hereditary or contagious diseases, with the deaf and dumb or those deformed from birth, etc.

No marriage could be celebrated without a certificate attesting to the Aryanism of participants; and certificates of this kind were necessary for all civil functions, so that the famous "ancestor passport," without being exactly imperative, obviated numerous formalities.

In the town of Mülhausen alone, 2,500 certificates of Aryanism and 200 "ancestor passports" were delivered in the course of 1941.

Each couple received from the hands of the Mayor a copy of *Mein Kampf*. In Germany, *Mein Kampf* became the official wedding present of State marriages after 1935, which did not prevent Hitler even so from declaring before the war, in a famous interview with an accomplice before the fact, that he would himself correct *Mein Kampf* by his acts in the Great Book of History.

Workers' legislation was not overlooked either. The working hours in practice in the Reich† were applied in Alsace from 21 November 1941. The normal working hours varied from 48 to 60 per week. In reply to the discontent of the workers, the papers presented the measure as the result of the advantages which Alsace enjoyed under the New Order.

"At the epoch of the initial stages of economy in Alsace, one can afford to be generous in questions of working times.

"Now that economy is in full swing in all spheres, strictly supervised working hours will be inaugurated with the introduction of orders from the Reich."‡

Penal legislation was introduced in Alsace by an order of 29 October 1941 in all that concerned the composition of tribunals, their competence and the execution of their judgments.

Shareholding societies were subjected to German legislation from 1 January 1942.§

Criminal code was applied 15 February 1942. Those actions already in the courts conforming to French laws had to be liquidated.

New Year's Day 1943 was consecrated to gaining juridical power over artists, writers, journalists, etc. The Association of Alsatian Journalists was affiliated to the Association of Journalists of the Reich.

The Chambers of the Press, the theatres, arts, music, the cinema, such as they existed in Germany, had to be created in Alsace, where they would be administered by the State of Baden, and by the cultural Chamber of the Reich.

The final touch was accomplished by an order of 4 January 1943. It was devoted to the coming into force in Alsace of the Code of Commerce and German Civil Code in their entirety, with very few exceptions, notably that concerning the law dealing with hereditary farms (*Erbhofgesetz*). It introduced also German legislation concerning insurances, river and maritime codes,

* *Blutschutzgesetz* of 15 September 1935.

† Order of 30 April 1938

‡ *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 22 November 1941.

§ *Aktienrecht*, 30 January 1937, and *Aktiengesetz*, 13 January 1937.

adjudications, legal enforcement, banks, property ledgers; as well as co-operative societies.

The introduction of the administrative system and German laws was completed, as we may see, by the distraint upon riches, factories, houses of commerce, and undertakings of every description.

Thus, in formal violation of the clauses of the Armistice, the seal was set upon the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Peace Treaty which the Germans hoped to impose would merely have consummated with the pen that which was already a *fait accompli*.

THE REDISCOVERED KINDRED

The racial principle also imposed upon the Reich the duty of compelling the return to the mother country of all those individuals more or less related to her by blood.

Now, in 1940, a large number were in exile. There were firstly the Alsatian and Lorrainer prisoners of war. The Reich set about their liberation. We have received personally the testimony of many of them who were sent back to their native homes in their role of *Volkdeutsche* many days before the Armistice.*

On 15 July 1940 all men born before 1918, and who were in German camps, were released. Some time later, the camp commanders received an order which ran: "Release all men of German race who are to be found among the French prisoners."†

To obviate frauds, Wagner sent to each camp members of the "Service of Alsatian Assistance," charged with verifying the identity of these men. The signification of this measure was clear. The propagandists, who had begun to manifest throughout the country an indefatigable activity, explained it squarely otherwise: "Germany considers that Alsatians and Lorrainers have been mobilized by force. These Germans have been dragged into the war in spite of themselves." Robert Ernst, who as Commandant of the Luftwaffe had been dispatched with urgency to the spot, and Maass, who was to become some time afterwards Mayor of Mülhausen, alternated with other "militarists," Benman, Spiesser, Wurtz, etc., to hold disquisitions before thousands of soldiers in French uniform in the attempt to convince them that they were Germans, and to praise the magnanimity of which the Reich gave proof. In addition to the prisoners, there were the soldiers of the Eastern Army, who, to avoid being encircled by the German troops descending towards the Rhone, had sought sanctuary in Switzerland. The Reich entered into communications with the Swiss Government, and on 30 September 1940, following an agreement reached with Berne, the frontier separating Alsace and Switzerland was opened for a few hours in order to "let pass the Alsatians sheltering in Switzerland. They will take with them all their goods and belongings whilst enjoying complete Customs freedom."

It was stipulated that these refugees would only be authorized to return to Switzerland in exceptional cases.

But the greater part of the absentees was constituted by the Alsatians and Lorrainers who had been evacuated to the interior of France at the beginning of the war.

The operation took place under bad conditions. The plans dated from 1933, and at this period foresaw the sheltering in Savoy of these 400,000 refugees. In 1939 the eventuality of the entry into the war of Italy prevented the realization of the project, and the installation of all these people in the central provinces,

* The signatories of the Armistice having been duly warned.

† We have seen that the Germans attempted to put the same manoeuvre into operation with Bretons.

Dordogne, Lot, Correze, etc., had to be improvised in haste. In barns and stables these unfortunates camped for some months in conditions of hygiene and discomfort which even the inexhaustible devotion of the municipal authorities had difficulty in improving. There, with incomparable stoicism, they awaited victory.

Then, as recompense for this painful vigil, the most abominable of defeats left them without help.

The Germans prevailed upon them to return to their own homes. They saw long posters appear in their temporary refuge, saying: "You may return home." Unfortunately, some of them, believing the war to be finished, and themselves abandoned, accepted the invitation.

They were welcomed by ovations, fanfares, speeches, flags, the "*Deutschland über Alles*" and "*Horst Wessel Lied*"! The Germans could not contain their joy at being able at last to press to their hearts their "rediscovered kindred."

The kindred themselves experienced an entirely different impression, such as that of a Strasburgian :

"In the frontier stations of Alsace, and at the arrival of the train into the station of Strasburg, a cacophonous band played the National Anthem '*Deutschland über Alles*' and the '*Horst Wessel Lied*.' Before leaving the station we were obliged to listen for twenty minutes to a speech which, after ignoble accusations and calumnies against a decadent France, praised the generosity of Hitler, to whom German Alsace was indebted for having escaped the horrors of war. The speech finished by a triple '*Sieg Heil!*' in honour of the Führer.

"As the refugees who had arrived before us by the first convoy had not united their voices in the '*Sieg Heil*,' they took good care to surround us at our descent from the train by soldiers, members of the Hitler Youth and German nurses, under pretext of assisting us with our luggage—actually, to spy upon us and see that we shouted '*Sieg Heil!*' This welcome made a painful impression upon us. Most of us began to cry. At the exit to the station we had another surprise. Large streamers were strung up bearing the inscription *Willkommen in der deutschen Heimat!* (Welcome to the German Fatherland!), and *Heimkehrer!* *Seit gegrüßt im Gross-Deutschland!* (Salute to you who return to great Germany!)

And here are the impressions of an inhabitant of Mülhausen :

"Arriving from Belfort, we were astonished to note that the train halted for a long while at Montreux-Vieux. An increase of red flags bearing the swastika and the exclusive presence of German inscriptions, notably *Alt-Munsterol* (Montreux-Vieux) made us realize that we were entering annexed territory. In our compartment, a succession of German employees in green uniform carried out their duties of passport control and customs.

"At Mülhausen station, inscriptions entirely in German gave us an uneasy impression. The first platform was arranged for the reception of the refugees. We were welcomed by a speech in German. The *Schwesteren* (nurses) in uniform bustled about awkwardly. Children received little swastika flags; a brass band played German tunes, and many of us remained in our coach, silent, our eyes filled with tears. Already we regretted having left the country of freedom."

However, on the line of demarcation, first-aid posts were established; white-clad nurses ministered to the children, a bottle of milk in their hands. Doctors equipped with convoys were liberal with their attention to the aged and sick. These touching scenes were filmed by the U.F.A. before being sent to

all the cinemas of Europe, especially those in the centre of France, Alsace and Lorraine.

Despite this piece of acting, it was soon apparent that the refugees did not come back with as much haste as the Germans had hoped. The truth is that the Alsations and Lorrainers knew Germany sufficiently well to realize that a trap was being proffered. Besides, they did not believe that the game was played out. Their patriotic faith, their knowledge of the Germans, made them naturally hope against all hope. In the face of this lack of enthusiasm, the Germans were dumbfounded, or perhaps they understood too well, as they became angry. As the attempt had failed, conforming to their usual methods, they employed blackmail.

Those hesitating in the "Free Zone" received either a distress appeal from their families remaining in the country or a discreet warning from a passing agent threatening them with reprisals or confiscation of their goods.

During the course of December 1941, under cover of the Red Cross, and abusing the authority which the German Armistice Commission could confer upon him, a certain "Chargé of Repatriation" of the Armistice Commission came and installed himself in the Hôtel Richelieu at Royat (Puy-de-Dôme).

He was furnished with files containing the addresses of all the Alsations and Lorrainers living in the region. These received shortly from Royat letters of introduction, intimating to them that a "third person" (whom one was careful not to name) had made a request of repatriation in the Service of the Civil Administration for them. If the recipient demanded the name of this "third person" the "Chargé of Repatriation" sometimes presented a letter written by a member of his family remaining in the country, and obviously inspired by the Germans.

The Chargé of Repatriation of the German Red Cross did not disdain to go himself to the home of the person concerned in order to exercise the strongest pressure upon him.

This blackmail alternated according to a known and recognized rhythm, with alluring promises. Notices were published in journals announcing that "furniture confiscated from Jews and enemies of the Reich and the German people would be distributed to repatriated people." During seven months those repatriated from Forbach received without examination of their contingent needs substantial material assistance. One made good use of them. They were made to write to France to their friends and acquaintances remaining there to incite them to return to the country where they would benefit from equally handsome generosity. But resisting the blackmail as well as the seductions, a large number of Alsations and Lorrainers obstinately refused to return. Time passed. There were still some 150,000 missing from the roll call, more than a third.

Then the journals began to offer menaces. On 27 December 1941 the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* declared:

"The Chief of Civil Administration has not yet fixed the date upon which the delay to return will expire definitely, after which the Alsations will be declared enemies of the people and of the German Reich, with the juridical consequences which this declaration comprises, from the administrative point of view and regarding personal property. But recently, as a preparatory stage, instructions have been given which render the possibilities of return more remote.

"Realizing that soon the final limit to the time extension will be fixed, with all the consequences which this admits, members of families in Alsace have as their own interest to enforce their relations living in France to make a definite decision from today."

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Alsations, and though disturbed by it, still hoped that the recalcitrants would rally.

The warnings increased, such as that which appeared on 9 February 1942, in the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*:

"Those Alsatian refugees who have not found the return road may be considered, not as unfortunate victims of war, but as emigrants pure and simple who have severed links between themselves and their country.

"They will be uprooted outcasts of their own free will. They have themselves dictated their fate. In the path of the tempest which has been unleashed over Alsace, trees have fallen like dead leaves. May they never forget!"

Eventually the ultimatum arrived. It still allowed a further three months' respite to the "bad Germans." On 30 April an order from the Civil Administration in Alsace announced that "demands for repatriation could not be made after 31 July, the final date."

Alsatian refugees and demobilized soldiers who had not by then formulated their demand for repatriation would have their goods confiscated.

Not a single demand was presented.

THE RECLAIMED SOULS

"France is not Poland."—An Average Frenchman, 1940.

On 27 May 1941, Albert Forster, Gauleiter of East Prussia, to which had been annexed vast Polish territories, declared that:

"The great task is to take good care that not a single drop of German blood shall be lost in the districts under my administration.

"To recover the Germans lost in this province will be the most urgent task. Each family must be thoroughly studied, if it is known to include one German parent or grandparent or German relatives living in the ancient Reich, or if it shows some clue of its German origin."

Three weeks later, 15 June 1941, the *Krakauer Zeitung* announced the discovery "of German blood in the district of Zamosc." A report sent by Globocknik, leader of the S.S. Brigade, admits that investigations had been made in "the records and church registers"; "tombstones, ethnical characteristics, the habitat had been studied," and the conclusion reached that 6,000 inhabitants supposed to be Polish were in reality Germans who had come from the Palatinate several centuries before.

Since then this population had had to undergo a "systematic process of education in all the features of life."

A campaign had started to "re-Germanize" those Polish-conditioned Germans in the district which had been previously defined. A detailed list of the descendants of German colonists at the time of the Emperor Joseph (1781) had been prepared. From Vienna, ten Leaders of the Hitler Youth, German teachers and young Nazis had been brought. A bilingual newspaper published in Polish and German had helped those people to learn German again. "When this work is finished, when these colonists will have resumed a German mode of life and started again to have a German state of mind, they and their villages shall be given German names."

Now, the same procedure was applied in Alsace and Lorraine. Meissner, in the famous book we have referred to, had, as early as 1940, stated the

principle: "The question is to know whether there may be in Alsace and Lorraine numerous villages that have changed their language, but not their population."

In many cases they were satisfied with affirmations based on historical considerations. For instance: "The inhabitants of the cantons of Saales and Schirmeck are of German blood; their ancestors spoke German at the time of the Thirty Years War. A great many of them still have German names." *

In other instances it was attempted to prove that French-speaking Alsatians were Germans.

There exist, particularly in the districts of Altkirch, Molsheim, Ribeauville and Selestat, French groups which, according to the Germans, number 60,000 people. "But," declared the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* on 4 September 1941,

"this population is in no way of French descent. There might have been scarce survivors from the primitive Celtic population, which had, 100 years before the Christian era, sought refuge at this spot, before the irresistible advance of the Alamans, but all the old documents, registers of taxes and church records prove that until after the Thirty Years War, and even up to the beginning of the XIXth century, German was spoken there."

The paper did its utmost to prove that the patois of these regions was not French, but a mixture of German and French.

It is sufficient for the sake of demonstration to choose a few words judiciously. In the region of the "Field of Fire," "Pettlau" comes from Bettler. "Jodle" from Jude, etc. As to proper names, Bernard comes from Bernhard; Caquelin from Cogelin, etc. It is almost as if one tried to prove that there is no French language because "boulevard" comes from "bullwerk," or no Russian language, because "isba" comes from "stube."

In the attitude adopted by the Germans themselves, these demonstrations have nothing scientific except their pretensions. They are a mass of heresy, confusing, for instance, the notion of race with that of language. As if the Bulgarians were Slavs because they have accepted the Slav dialect.

French people of Celtic or Frank origin speak a Latin language and the American negroes speak English.

In Ribeauville, Gauleiter Robert Wagner was not embarrassed by demonstrations:

"I know" [he said] "that in this district there are regions where French is spoken. But having secured information from the most competent authorities, and chiefly from Professor Metz, from the University of Freiburg, in Baden, who is one of the foremost specialists on Alsatian questions, I am in a position to assert that all the inhabitants of this country are of German origin, including those who speak French. And in this German Alsace, only German shall be spoken. There will be no half measures!"

The Herr Doktoren from Freiburg were playing their traditional part, which was to justify with the help of science the exactions of German Imperialism.

When Frederick II planned, in full peace, to tear Silesia by force from Marie-Thérèse, there appeared at once a professor in the University of Leipzig who published a Historical and Scientific Memorandum demonstrating Prussia's right to this country. In the margin of the manuscript one has found since a note from the hand of old Fritz: "Well done! This is good work for a charlatan!"

Old Fritz had at least no illusions about the researches of these scientists!

Less cultured and of an inferior intellectual level, the Gauleiters, it is quite likely, took such "charlatans' occupations" quite seriously.

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 May 1942.

These populations, German without knowing it, were obliged, like those of Zamoscz, to take German surnames since the principle had already been established that their ancestors possessed them.

And as those names could not, and for good reason, be traced in the records of town halls or churches, they were made up for the occasion.

When, in history, Rome had forced the Slovenes from Istria to adopt Italian names, when the Fascists went to desecrate the dead in the cemetery of Gorizia to add to the Slav names engraved on the tombs ridiculous endings in "i" or "en," the French hardly noticed it. All this happened so far from their country.

In 1940 those who underwent such treatment were French!

As early as 2 September 1940 the Gauleiter of Alsace ordered the use of surnames in their German form only, "even when they were written in French in the National Registers"!

On 23 November 1940 the "Sub-Prefects" sent the following circular to the mayors of their district:

"The head of Civil Administration has entrusted the Chief of Police to see that by the end of the year all French Christian names and surnames shall have disappeared from Alsace.

"By repeated communications and insertions in the Press, bearers of French Christian and family names have been advised to demand their modification as expression of their confession to *Deutschum*! I state with regret that until now only a small percentage of eligible people have manifested their sympathy with regard to the German Reich.

"I order in consequence that by means of public announcements and posters the attention of bearers of French names be drawn with insistence to the necessity of their change of name. On this subject one can say quite candidly that *there is no place in the German Reich* for bearers of French names. Those people who refuse to make this demand will become liable to transfer from the Reich.

"Demands for change of names must be addressed to the *Landkommissar* and not to the Town Hall. The applicants must have decided in advance the new name to be assumed. Members of the same family must bear the same name, and come to an understanding beforehand.

"The Town Halls have been ordered to compile in alphabetical order a list of bearers of French Christian and family names: these lists must be presented in four copies, at the latest by 28 November 1940.

"The limit must be scrupulously observed: and I shall hold responsible all mayors who do not conform to these instructions."

In other words, those who would not obey would be expelled.

Our unhappy compatriots received lists of translations of family names to which they must conform. Claude Bernard must call himself Klaus Bernhardt; Nicole Pernet, Berner; Jean Gainière, Hans Gander, etc. Here is an extract from these incredible lists:

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------|---------|
| Ahne . . . | Ahner | Hilpibre . . . | Hilpert |
| Bernard . . . | Bernhardt | Jeunesse . . . | Jung |
| Bohy . . . | Bohler | Loux . . . | Lux |
| Claude . . . | Klaus | Malaise . . . | Mahler |
| Flajolet . . . | Bohn | Morel . . . | Mohr |
| Gainière . . . | Gander | Grandgeorges . . . | Gross |
| Moulam . . . | Murler | Nichole . . . | Nickel |
| Pernet . . . | Berner | Ponton . . . | Burgher |
| Rocher . . . | Roth | Verly . . . | Werler |
| Dupont . . . | Bruckner | | |

Tens of thousands of French were thus condemned by Germany to lose even their own names.

At Strasburg alone, on 23 January 1941, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* announced that more than 2,100 people had applied for a change of name to the appropriate department at Police Headquarters.

"Out of these demands, 27 have been arranged on the spot, 57 will be dealt with immediately, and 82 have been sent back to those concerned for fuller information."

In the Molsheim district, 15,000 families were affected. Such measures provoked serious problems in public life, and on 3 January the *Journal de Mulhouse* explained that it was necessary to carry out with the utmost caution the translation of French surnames into German and seek suitable information in each case by consulting official registers. "Many names assumed to be French are really," said the paper, "German names altered in the course of centuries."

Twenty days later the same paper declared that the change of French surnames and Christian names decreed by the Civil Administration of Alsace would entail enormous administrative work.

"As far as possible, the administration takes into account the wishes of the persons concerned, and grants them the name they themselves have chosen. In other cases, the communal records are investigated.

"It is necessary, in fact, to act cautiously, to avoid members of the same family scattered in the country taking different names. One must also consider the case of Alsatians not living in Alsace and who, in consequence, are not affected by the decree prescribing a change of name. These, accordingly, would keep their French name, whereas their parents, brothers, sisters or even children established in Alsace would replace it by a German name, which would undoubtedly cause complications to arise."

The paper concluded by stating that the definite settlement of this difficult question would certainly mean long months of work.

Nevertheless, towards the same period, in February 1941, Alsatians received from the police notes such as this :

"You have heretofore neglected to appear before the Commissioner of your district and to send a request for changing your French name and that of your family. In an Alsace which is henceforth German, it is not permissible for citizens to have a French name.

"People who profess to be loyal to Germanism must have a German name.

"In Alsatian territory, the position should be quite clear in all respects ; those who retain their French name show a French attitude.

"Every man who desires the prosperity of his Fatherland (*Heimatland*) and of its people must consider as his patriotic duty the adoption of a German name. By acting thus, one erects the most glorious monument to one's forefathers and ancestors ! Once more you are offered the opportunity of proving openly your German frame of mind.

"For the last time you are asked to take the necessary measures within eight days to change your Christian name and surname at the office of the Commissioner of your district.

"In case this order is not complied with, you will have to appear before the District Commissioner."

On 20 December 1941 one could read in the *Journal de Mulhouse* the obituary notice concerning a certain Josef Peter whose name, before it had been compulsorily Germanized, was Marcel Chalmy. Chalmy is a common name in the Upper-Rhineland (Haut-Rhin) between Mülhausen and Belfort.

The Germans, however, could not complete their task within the limits they had fixed for themselves. They resumed the operation early in 1943. On 10 February an order specified that all surnames were to be translated into German before 1 March, including those of the Germans from the Reich who had permanently settled in Alsace. However, the Germans having Huguenot surnames were exempt from this obligation. Why? We have been unable to understand it clearly. Aliens also were not compelled to abide by this measure. But among such aliens, the French [*sic*] authorized to remain in Alsace because they had married Alsatian girls were under the obligation of changing their name.

One month after this last date had elapsed, Fritz Wetzel, reporting on racial and national questions, was raging in the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* of 30 March 1943:

"Christian names such as Gaston, Roger, Colette, Odette, Yvette, have always clashed with our old German surnames, and still more with the character of Alsatian men and women who bore them.

"Today, no equivocation is possible. Such Christian names cannot be tolerated!

"The few French surnames still existent in Alsace are not suitable because they are alien to the country. Besides, they are frequently ancient German names, arbitrarily Gallicized, skilfully adapted to circumstances, and horribly distorted. An accent has been added to them, for instance, in the case of the surname 'Zimmerle' or a letter inserted ('Schwilque' instead of 'Schwilqe'). They have been made more elegant.

"Often, also, German surnames have been purely and simply translated into French. Thus a Grosshaus becomes Grosjean; Kleinpeter, Petit Pierre; Koenig, Leroy. Needless to say, all these *Welche* surnames must disappear. Most of the Alsations concerned have answered the summonses. The authorities interpret the changing of their surname as a profession of faith towards Germany. They suppose, in fact, that this modification of their civilian status comes from their desire to free themselves from a French mentality which has become obsolete."

In Lorraine, similar measures were enforced by the Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel. And on 30 August 1942, in his great speech known under the name of "Metz Proclamation," he declared:

"We frequently find in Lorraine a great number of surnames which formerly had a totally German sound. The purely German origin of most French family surnames has been ascertained by a scientific Commission formed with first-class specialists [always the same cry!].

"This Commission has done elaborate research work in French documents. That which was German becomes German again! Names must be a symbol. They must show that in Lorraine there are only Germans and that the foreigners have no right whatever in this country. But, you will object, one finds French names in Germany, in Berlin, in Munich, for instance! Yes, but the French never had any idea of claiming Berlin because a family called François lived in that city!

"The position is quite different here on the border: but you will remark also that the name does not count! It goes back to periods long passed; peace shall not suffer because of that. Certainly, my friends, a few

surnames like that would not matter, but I can make no exception or discrimination.

"Suppose a certain M. Bour gives up this name, which is in reality that of Bauer. It is possible that formerly Herr Bauer, transformed by force into M. Bour, has exclaimed: 'I shall not die for that.' 'Dear sir, once more you have become Herr Bauer!'"

It is exactly as if France had forced Kleber to call himself Colleur or Kellerman, a cellar attendant!

Nevertheless, should Germany have won the war, and consequently, according to her plans, annexed the North of France, the inhabitant of Lille, one certain Charles de Gaulle, obviously of German origin, as his stature and clear complexion prove it, would have been obliged to translate his name into German and call himself Karl von Deutschland!

THE VICTORY OF SCHAMBEDIESS

The dead souls having thus been brought back to life, thanks to their return to the Valhalla of the "Community of the German Volk," they still had to recover the power of speech.

In other words, Alsatians and Lorrainers had been declared to be of German blood. They received the order to learn again the language of their supposed ancestors.

In Lorraine, in spite of "mass deportations," "the number of children who could speak only French reached, in the district of Metz, a proportion as high as 75 per cent."*

As happened in Poland, Nazi organizations were entrusted with the task of putting an end to this state of things.

The National Socialist "Popular Welfare Centre" (*N.S. Volkswohlfahrt*) created kindergarten where children spoke only the German language which their parents did not understand. Thus, "70,000 children have been returned to the Fatherland," declared the German papers,† and added: "The teachers who were the first to arrive in Lorraine from Germany must have been fanatics to persist (*durchhalten*)!"

What tragedies one can imagine to be hidden behind this short sentence!

As far as adults are concerned, Gauleiter Wagner, after a thorough examination of the question, decided to oblige all those under 21 to learn the invader's tongue. Young men and girls were compelled to attend lectures organized by the "Committee of the German Volk."‡

A relentless action was pursued in the same direction—or, rather, the youth of Lorraine was hunted all day.

"A systematic work is done in the lectures of the D.V.G. and also in the Hitler Youth organizations. In working premises and during moments of leisure this work is enlarged and enriched."

In order to be free from such persecution there was one alternative left, namely to succeed in an examination which proved that one was sufficiently proficient in the conqueror's language.

Naturally the Lorrainers, with their well-known stubbornness, resisted by all means this violation of the elementary rights of individuals.

The Germans gave vent to their rage unreservedly, and the *Metzer Zeitung am Abend* was printing, for instance, towards the end of October:

* *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 17 March 1942.

† *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft*: abbreviated D.V.G.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 17 March 1942.

"The Lorrainers who cling to the French language play the part of traitors towards their fellow-countrymen. They are plotting to denounce them to the French in case the fortunes of war should change.

"They continue to speak French to show their sympathies with France, and hope some day to stand as accusers and judges of those who prefer to be Germans and act accordingly."

This paper thus showed a clearness of views worthy of praise. In Alsace, one should distinguish between the whole of the country speaking a dialect of German origin with strong French infiltrations, and the various French-speaking pockets numbering over 60,000 individuals.

The inhabitants of such pockets, as we have seen, had been declared to be of German blood. They also were forced, after having changed their name, to learn the real language of their imaginary ancestors.

In Rothau, peasants heard one day the sound of high boots. Propaganda companies had been dispatched to teach them the tongue of the Herrenvolk !

They had to attend evening classes. The Germans, past-masters in the art of propaganda, illustrated such lectures with films, music, lieds and "other well-thought-out entertainments." The Alsatian, who is not a sectarian, saw the films with pleasure, when they were good—which seldom happened—and listened to the popular songs. When he returned home he naturally reverted to French.

"Gauleiter Wagner" [wrote the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* on 4 September 1941] "has decided that, outside school hours, a course of German language should be given in regions where patois prevails, chiefly by organizations of the German Labour Front. The praiseworthy zeal with which the population attends such courses and other well-planned means of education gives the assurance that the goal pursued, which is to enable this population to speak German after five years, will certainly be achieved."

In a piece of reporting about the Bruche valley, *Das Reich*, Goebbels' weekly, wrote in July 1941 :

"Today, the German administration has undertaken the task of restoring to this district of patois its original language, for these people are not French, but have German blood, and that racial descendance has but been shaken. The French language had been formerly used as a means of communication. This time another method has been chosen.

"Schools, evening classes, old popular songs of Alsace, and film shows are used for this purpose. French, as an intermediary language, has been completely rejected. In five years, linguistic unity must be achieved."

In the rest of Alsace, where the greater part of the population speaks the dialect and the remainder is bilingual (French dialect), the Germans insisted in imposing their language to the exclusion of any other.

Then a pitched battle broke out between the occupiers and the occupied, which ended clearly to the advantage of the Alsatians.

The laurels, for the first skirmishes, were the French language. On 24 July 1940 the Wehrmacht, which at the time was in charge of the administration of the country, decreed that German was the only authorized language. Whoever spoke French would be liable to punishment.

After coming into office, on 8 August, Gauleiter Robert Wagner confirmed, by Order No. 3, published on 24 August, in the first issue of the *Official Monitor*, the decisions already taken by the Army.

At the beginning, however, the Germans, realizing that the nut would be hard to crack, did not dare to attempt any frontal attack against the Alsatians ;

whether they spoke French or patois, it would be no easy matter to teach them "pure German", and above all to oblige them to speak it.

The Press and radio attempted persuasion. Posters appeared in every locality, inviting them to attend, free of cost, lectures on *Hochdeutsch*. It was in accordance with the moral, intellectual, psychic and material interests of Alsatians to use a language of great culture such as German.

These philosophical considerations having failed to give the expected results, the tone became more and more bitter. Inhabitants of Mülhausen, for instance, read from time to time in the newspapers articles in which reporters, in terms charged with threatening innuendoes, registered their amazement at still hearing in the evening, on the "corso," young girls speaking French together; finally, as the patience of the National Socialists was not inexhaustible, the *Kreisleiter* published on 6 April 1941 a "final" notice stating: "From tomorrow, the police have been given instructions to act against all who speak French in the streets in a provocative way."

This notice having brought no results, a "final warning to agitators" appeared three weeks later in every Alsatian paper:

"Although the Alsatian people, as a whole, have, since its liberation by the Wehrmacht, given the proof that it was disentangling itself from every French memory, there are still some irresponsible elements who cannot refrain from repudiating their language and speaking French.

"Strict measures will be taken from now against such elements. Consequently, those who, in future, shock the German feelings of the Alsatian people by speaking French in public with provocative intentions can expect an adequate answer."

It was of no avail. Three weeks later, on 15 May, a circular, widely advertised from the *Kreisleiter* of Colmar, gave vent to this official's anger:

"A small clique of gossips, 'Querulanten' and wicked idiots, denies everything their obtuse minds are unable to understand. They stubbornly insist on speaking French. We have suffered it for over six months. That is enough! From 15 May, whoever speaks French in public shall be sent to a concentration camp!"

As the "Querulanten" persisted in their heresy, the *Journal de Mulhouse* published on 7 July 1941 a new "final warning":

"One must call immoral [*sic*] the fact that in public, in spite of all appeals, warnings, and instructions, some people still speak French.

"Whoever wishes to make a demonstration by speaking French must expect to be dealt with accordingly.

"One can draw but one conclusion from such incorrigible persons. Either the German language and our beautiful dialect seem too coarse to those people—or they speak French to provoke us. In either case, it is not permissible in a community. He who wishes to be an example to his fellow-men shows it by his actions; words, and French words at that, will never impress anyone!"*

"If some ladies and gentlemen wish to attract notice by speaking French in the streets, shops, in the doctors' consulting rooms, in the society of children, or in taking tea, we consider such an attitude as provocation and scorn. Such people must expect that we shall intervene with the utmost firmness. They have no right to be treated like friends of the people. We consider it our duty to give them a final warning.

*Theorists of the inferiority-complex will find this interesting to note.

"To speak openly and honestly, to act openly and honestly, is our duty as Germans! And that is that!"

At the same time, Gestapo agents, helped by innumerable Civil Servants from Germany, had arrived in the country and from time to time arrested a delinquent.

It soon became so dangerous to speak French in public that Alsations thought it preferable to turn their patriotic fervour to more useful purposes, about which we shall write later.

Arrests were made only from time to time for speaking French in public as in the case of Philip Schwab, a workman of Kœnigshofen, near Strasburg, who was arrested on 24 February 1943.

If the Germans half won the battle of the French language, in this sense, that the population, knowing the dialect, only used French within the house, they suffered a striking defeat in their offensive against "patois." When they arrived, they had the pretension of suppressing the patois. Theatres producing plays in "Alsatian" were closed, Alsatian books "purged," and in the newspapers, serials or articles written in dialect were cancelled.

Towards the population the German authorities attempted at first, as usual, to use persuasion. The Press launched appeals asking it to abstain from using this "French" patois and to have recourse only to the real mother-tongue, *Hochdeutsch*.

But newspapers vainly praised the tongue of Goethe: vainly did they paint under the darkest colours the ravages caused in the minds of Alsations by the use of an "alien tongue." They met with no response. On 5 February 1941 the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* published on this question a violent article about a conversation heard by a reporter in a restaurant, and taking place among the members of a family of the Alsatian "bourgeoisie":

"A real crime is being committed in this country. One should have drawn lessons from the past in the course of the last twenty years. One of these lessons is that one should speak German only. Before bringing a child in contact with an alien tongue he must at all cost know thoroughly that of his country, of his forefathers, that is good German.

"The Alsatian population does not seem to understand these fundamental truths, and goes on speaking the patois which puts it in opposition with the true German from beyond the Rhine. This use of patois may appear a passive protest (!) of the Alsatian against the German régime. By speaking good German, Alsations will avoid giving the wrong impression, which, under present circumstances, might be the cause of great hardships."

The threat was quite clear. But how could Alsations speak German, since they did not know it? In fact, patois, or rather the Alsatian and Lorrainer patois, form the basis of the old Alemanic dialect, with a strong mixture of French words distorted by local pronunciation.*

This patois the Germans in general do not understand without practice. For their part, Alsations using dialect are unable to speak *Hochdeutsch* if they have not learnt it.

"Never mind," say the Germans, "learn it!"

And in this country which they claimed for their own, "in the name of the principle of the blood proved by the language," they started teaching this very language.

The *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, always well-informed, certified that Alsace had been speaking German for 1,500 years, then told Alsations how to learn it.

* Scholars have traced in these dialects a foundation of old Celtic to which obviously belong such words as *Zwehl* (towel) or *Gottel* (patina), etc. This phenomenon has nothing striking in itself, since the Celtic domain spread, before the barbaric invasions (German invasions) to Ukraine.

"It is quite simple. They have only to attend lectures and listen to speeches given in good German. The radio gives them such an opportunity. They have but to read the papers, reviews, and German books carefully, preferably aloud. But the best way to learn German is to speak it. If at the start one experiences difficulties, one will quickly learn to overcome them. For we must remember that German is not a foreign tongue, like French, and that it is the language of 160 millions of people in Europe!" [sic]

Where are those 160 millions of people? The paper does not say!

To help Alsatians to learn their mother tongue a branch for the Upper Rhineland (Haut-Rhin) of the German Language Association (*Deutsches Sprachverrin*) was created on 9 August 1942 in Strasburg.

In this country, where, under pretence of "racism", inhabitants were compelled to translate their names into German, the Association brought, as propagandists, two professors from the Stuttgart Institute, whose names were Wentzlaff Eggebert and Csaki. That is to say, they were two men who, according to the very theories they were called upon to spread, were, the former a Pole or a Czech, and the latter a Hungarian, and should also have translated their names into German!

The aims of the Association, if one can trust to its statutes, were to take up the work where Dr. Karl Roose had left it, meaning the work done in favour of German, with the help of lectures, social evening gatherings, conversations, walks and the Review published under the auspices of the Association known as *Die Muttersprache* (the mother tongue).

In spite of all these efforts, the Alsatians remained the more attached to their dialect, because its use constituted, as the Strasburg newspapers had so aptly put it, "a mute protest" (which was, no doubt, a way of speaking) against the German régime.

The Germans in occupation only succeeded in obliging the Civil Servants, under penalty of dismissal from their posts, to use only *Hochdeutsch*—and it took them two years to do it, since on 2 February 1942 a circular addressed to the tram-workers of Mülhausen said:

"From today, conductors will have to say 'Heil Hitler! Fares, please; (in German): '*Danke schön*'!"

"The Alsatian patois is forbidden, since many passengers do not understand it!" [sic]

Tram-conductors caught in the act of using it were dismissed. But passengers went on as before, using their dialect. To hide their failure, the Germans used a stratagem similar to that which they thought of the day when, threatened by the success of the V campaign, they appropriated the avenging letter.

Pretending to forget that they themselves had launched the offensive against patois, they declared that the language problem had been solved by the disappearance of French in public.

In a piece of reporting about Strasburg, the *Koelnische Zeitung* wrote:

"In the evening, through the throbbing streets, the language which has been for 22 years the State language is no longer heard. The *Elsasser Ditsch* has finally triumphed."

At the same time the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* began to publish an article written in dialect. It was dedicated to "slash" the "grouzers" by creating this incarnation *Schambediess* (distortion of John the Baptist), whom they did their best to make as ludicrous a figure as possible.

The Alsatians laughed up their sleeves.

Schambediess, at least, had not been obliged to translate his name into German!

PLOTTERS FOR AUTONOMY

"Lately one may have noticed that some newspapers betray a certain frenzy in persuading their readers that all National Socialists abroad are spies, or people who, as a well-known paper puts it, only indulge in illegal activities. Such assertions need not in the least be taken seriously, but for the fact that they contribute to contaminate the atmosphere and disturb the relations of Germany with foreign countries."

VON BOHLE, at the Congress of the National League for German Extension Abroad, 30 August 1938.

To say that Alsace is a perfect example of the creation and use by the Germans of an Autonomist movement is a modest statement to make. After 1918 the Alsatian "Autonomist leaders" had been, in spite of their small number, entrusted by Germany with a task greater than organizing the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine. They had to prepare the dismemberment of France from the four corners: Flanders, Brittany, Catalogna and Alsace.

There is no need for us to prove that they were simple agents of the Reich: it is enough to have their confession—they have more than confessed—they all publicly boasted of having acted, long before the war, on Berlin's orders.

It was Paul Schall, one of the foremost "Autonomists" of the past, and then *Kreisleiter* of Strasburg, who declared, on 14 February 1943, in a speech to the political leaders of Kehl, opposite Strasburg, on the other bank of the Rhine:

"I have known Kehl for about 12 years. It was in Kehl, Offenburg and Freiburg-in-Brisgau, that I took part in National Socialist demonstrations and that I was fortunate enough to meet the Führer on two occasions. In the country of Hanau, my friends and I have found a new strength and vigour which enabled us to fight effectively for Germanism in Alsace."

Another, still better known, Autonomist leader, Charles Huber, former Communist and ex-Mayor of Strasburg, when this town was French, has made no less illuminating confessions. On 2 July 1941 Robert Ernst, Reich-Kommis-sar in Strasburg, promoted him to the rank of official speaker of the Party.

Robert Ernst had been living in Germany before the war, when he was the leader of the organization of Alsatians and Lorrainers within the Reich. This organization was the work of a certain Adolphe Goetz, who, when the French arrived in 1918, had fled to Berlin, where he had founded a Section "Alsace-Lorraine" within the Reich's Home Office.

At that time the National Socialists were not in power, but the Social Democrats. For 20 years the various Governments of the Reich, whether from the Right or Left Wing, supported the "Association," which published an artistically printed magazine and whose members enjoyed special favour from the Government of Stresemann and of Stresemann himself as well. They were appointed to posts of museum superintendent, warden, etc. All that, as well as the foundation in Frankfurt-on-Main of an Institute for Alsace-Lorraine, did not naturally prevent the leaders of all parties, Hitler included, from asserting solemnly that Germany had renounced for ever any claims on Alsace-Lorraine. Ernst had superseded Goetz.

The section "Alsace-Lorraine" of the Reich's Home Office had become an organization affiliated to the famous V.D.A.*

Its leader was von Bohle, and it was managed in agreement with dreams of Jahn, in 1804, in his *Book of Germanism* which had been brought to a concrete form by Hasse in 1900 and by the Pan-Germanist League (*Alldeutsches Verband*) during the Great War.

* *Volksbund für das Deutschtum in Auslande*, National Union for Germanism Abroad.

Therefore Charles Huber thanked Robert Ernst by declaring that he had known him for a long time, for already when the French were in Alsace he had been acquainted with him.

The Chief of the Chancellery of the Reich, Dr. Otto Meissner, completed the confession in the course of a public lecture given in Strasburg towards the end of June 1941. The orator declared that in 1918 "the Alsatian people, led by the Association of Alsatians and Lorrainers, resolutely entered the struggle to preserve its mother tongue and its nationality."

Bickler, another well-known Autonomist, who was a pure-blooded German from the Reich, explained on 25 January 1942, before recruits to the Party in Strasburg, what tactics Germany had used in Alsace. He declared literally:

"One must not bear any grudge against 'sincere Alsatians' for having at first been satisfied in claiming Autonomy, and in not becoming at once 'Separatists.' As conditions were at the time, there was no other choice. The Reich itself could have had no use whatever for an openly irredentist movement. The interest of the Reich comes first."

Dr. Ernst defined in terms which are quite as lucid the aim and nature of the old Alsatian Autonomism, when, in Strasburg, on 30 January 1941, he declared, for the consumption of simple-minded persons who had sincerely answered the appeal of "Autonomist" leaders:

"The existence of this movement was only justified as long as there was no real German Reich. Today, with Adolf Hitler, the Reich has become a reality. In consequence, the problem of an Autonomous Alsace, even in the framework of the Reich, is now out of the question."

Here, then, from the mouth of Autonomist chiefs, we have a double confession. They were in contact with Hitler, from whom they received their instructions and their subsidies. And, on the other hand, their real aim was to sever Alsace-Lorraine from France, to annex it to the Reich—an undertaking which they conceived according to the plan of which they saw the unravelling in 1938. Konrad Henlein was also an "Autonomist" in the Sudetenland and there also Czechoslovakia had built her Maginot Line!

Alsatian Separatists had been entrusted with a still greater task. It was they, in fact, and particularly Paul Schall, who had taken in 1927 the initiative of founding the famous "Committee of National Minorities of France" which grouped Breton, Flemish and Corsican "representatives" whose duty it was to defend the French "Minorities" and to assure the triumph of their Autonomist claims while waiting for them to become "Separatists". In 1927! And all these events happened under the very nose of the Civil Servants and the elect of the Republic!

In Rennes, in the headquarters of Breton Autonomists, there were stocks of Alsatian, Catalan, Flemish Autonomist propaganda, etc.

Conversely, in Alsace, Roos, Schall, Hans, etc., were not hiding the opinion they held on the Breton movement, and on 29 April 1938 Meyer, who was then Director of the Strasburg Section of the *Landespartei*, and an Autonomist, openly supported before a journalist the activities of Schall in 1917, declaring "Breton Autonomism is lively and justified. France is guilty."*

The people were ambitious. Not only did they want to give Alsace to Germany, but they meant to help her to dismember the remainder of France. At the same time, Spiezer, Chief of the Autonomist propaganda, declared to the journalist mentioned above, the Baron d'Astier: "Pan-Germanism has ceased

* *L'Intransigeant*, 26 April 1938.

to exist, but after all it is logical that those of German race should become Germans again."* "But after all" is significant!

The public declarations of Schall, Ernst and of so many others, boasting of having betrayed France, did not prevent the Germans from raising to the rank of martyr Karl Roos, another Autonomist convicted of being a spy and shot at Nancy on 7 February 1940. His remains were transferred on 19 June 1941 from the cemetery of Champigneulle to Hunneburg Castle, a majestic ruin in the Vosges, bought and renovated by Spiezer. The latter had also been condemned to death in Nancy in 1940, but had been freed by the coming of the Germans.

Pompous ceremonies were organized on this occasion:

"The grave of Roos shall become a place of pilgrimage for all Germans and Alsatian patriots. The coffin has been placed in a tower built near the castle and on which will fly day and night the swastika flag. It is strictly prohibited to sing and smoke in the vicinity of this holy place.

"Visitors must approach the grave bareheaded. Alsatian school-children shall be regularly led to the spot where lies the martyr Karl Roos."†

On 30 October, Ernst, Schall, Schlegel and Mourer went to Munich to the grave of the famous seventeen first combatants, and in front of the blood-stained emblem of the 1923 Putsch the memory of Karl Roos was evoked with the help of Karl Haushofer, the inventor of "Geopolitics" and of Ritter von Epp.

There were a certain number of genuine people who were completely deceived when the actual aim of the Autonomist movement was cynically revealed to them.

They were all those who had believed in good faith in the possibility of Alsace escaping the consequences of conflicts on the Rhine by becoming an independent buffer State. They were, briefly, the sincere Autonomists.

They were few in number, and realized the true state of affairs the day after the occupation, when their chiefs deserted immediately and without any delay for the German side. Their indignation was violent.

They realized that they had been dupes, and their rancour increased when they saw these same Autonomists, in whom they had placed their ingenuous hopes, immediately placed in positions of command by the Germans, in the capacity of *Kreisleiter* or *Bezirkleiter*.

Within a short time certain Alsatians, feeling themselves to be abandoned by the Vichy Government, came to swell the ranks of the sincere Autonomists, whose movement this time was clearly directed against Germany. But terror and occupation terminated this activity. Besides this, the movement, already suspect on account of the *volte-face* of its chiefs in 1940, became more so following the activities of Joseph Rosse, Deputy of Colmar, a former agent of Ernst, and who had been involved in the legal action of Roos at Nancy.

After the Armistice, Rosse had been nominated as liquidator of the French insurance companies in Alsace by the Germans, with a salary of 4,000 marks per month (80,000 francs). Unless they recognized officially the annexation of Alsace, or rendered invalid the Deputy's commission of Rosse, both of which were impossible, the Vichy Government was forced to pay him, like the others, his Parliamentary salary. The transfer of funds not being possible, Rosse came each month to Vichy to receive his emoluments, at the same time as Mourer, a French Communist who had now become Murer, *Kreisleiter* of

* Following an inquiry published in *Vu* by the Baron d'Astier, Spiezer, angry at being called "Prince of Hitlerian propaganda in Alsace," had prepared a very witty (*mit einem glänzenden Spot*) reply.

Let us quote the *Gazette de Cologne* (13 January 1942), which related the adventures of a certain Baron Mer d'Allord in Alsace . . . "Very witty!" No doubt!

† This reply was to appear in August 1939 in the *Strassburger Monatshefte*, organ of the Autonomists. But censorship forbade its publication.

† *Strassburger Neueste-Nachrichten*, 22 June 1941.

Mülhausen, where he paraded in a splendid uniform of black and silver as leader of the S.S.

In the course of his travels, Rosse established contact with the Alsatians and Lorrainers, refugees in the free zone, and proposed a plan for the neutralization of Alsace-Lorraine.

"France is defeated" [he said]. "What future have we if we remain attached to her, which the Germans in any case will never allow. Besides, our population is hostile to the idea of total absorption by Germany. The sole solution is to create a buffer-state, which will be economically self-supporting; the potash alone of Alsace will enable her inhabitants to live without tax-paying. Peace will be assured there by both France and Germany. . . ."

Rosse developed an old idea. In 1917 the German Social Democrats championed in the Reichstag the proposition envisaging the transformation of Empire territory into an independent state, united with Switzerland, Luxemburg and Belgium. It was the famous Alemanic State of which the idea was defended by the German Social Democrat Orator Hermann Wendel in these terms: "Such a measure would deprive Germany of one of her most beautiful provinces, but Alsace-Lorraine would be lost equally to France."

In a conference held towards the end of June 1941 at Strasburg, Dr. Meissner, head of the Reich Chancellery, recalled this anecdote:

"In an extremely unfavourable moment, in September 1918, the German Government decided to give Autonomy to Alsace-Lorraine. This project could not be realized because of events which were precipitated in the months of October and November of that year."

In 1940 and 1941 the question presented itself differently. What was the aim of Rosse who, according to evidence, acted in connivance with the German authorities, and doubtless with those of Vichy, where Laval expounded similar ideas several times in public.

Both Laval and Rosse played the German game, whose objective was two-fold. It was necessary, on the one hand, to provide the French public, unsettled by what had taken place in annexed provinces, and becoming more and more refractory at the idea of collaborating with Germany, with indications of the goodwill of that country, or, on the other hand, to deceive the 200,000 Alsatians who persisted in their refusal to return to that country. Rosse's manoeuvre completed the incredible efforts made by the Reich to induce the return of the rebels. It had as its aim to attract them by the prospect of living in their own country, and to break their will to resistance by insinuating that France was willing to subscribe to the project.

Parallel with the dwindling possibility of German victory the question of Alsatian Autonomy evolved in a curious way. The Nazis, realizing that for them the game was lost, reiterated ceaselessly their position of integral annexation. But other German circles entered the lists to conserve for the Reich her conquests. The Autonomist formula was taken up again and developed in the international plan, so that in the event of German defeat Alsace-Lorraine would "at least be lost to France," as the Social Democrat Hermann Wendel pronounced in the Reichstag in 1917.

The 1943 manoeuvre reminds one of the mistaken ideas of the "National Council" anecdote to which Meissner made allusion. When the Germans believed defeat to be inevitable they attempted a supreme manoeuvre to retain Alsace. They contemplated launching a Nationalist movement which clamoured for the independence of Alsace-Lorraine, a movement directed to all

appearances against the Reich. But the evident failure of this being made apparent, it was clear that the "Nationalist" movement had only one objective—to prevent the reintegration of Alsace-Lorraine with the mother-country.

The Armistice was signed. But a fact which one is apt to overlook is that one clause compelled Germany to restore to France the Alsace-Lorraine which Bismarck had torn from her by the Treaty of Frankfurt.

One could believe that, under these conditions, the Germans, realizing that the National Council comedy would be a fiasco, would withdraw it from publicity. But this would be to misjudge them. The "delegates" of the National Council, with Eugene Ricklin at their head, presented themselves at Paris, and during the winter of 1918-1919 did their utmost to obtain recognition of the Alsace-Lorraine "nationality" until the day when the Treaty of Versailles put a definite stop to this bad joke.

To what extent French liberalism went beyond the bounds of the country's security one can recognize by the fact that this same Ricklin was able, in 1927, to lead the struggle for a fresh Autonomist movement, directed this time overtly against France, called the *Heimatbund*, to which was permitted the liberty of publishing anti-French manifestos. When, eventually, Ricklin was arrested, the Germans led a great clamour and made a hero of Germanism of him. To-day a road in Strasburg bears his name.

In 1942 and 1943 it was the German Catholics who, basing their hopes upon the clergy of Alsace and Lorraine, attempted to recommence the same manoeuvre and obtain from the Allies that which was denied them in 1918. It was the former members of the Centre Party who came into action. It was only to be expected. Already towards the end of 1939, when the defeat of the Reich was a foregone conclusion, the ex-Chancellor of the Zentrum Partei, Wirth, a refugee at Lucerne, upheld the idea of the Alemanic and Catholic State.

How mordantly true it is that, with the most diverse races of man and the most varied habitudes, German Imperialism always pursues the same ideals by the same methods.

II

THE PROTECTION OF THE BLOOD

"THE highest village of the magnificent forest of the Vosges has enjoyed latterly its first Festival of the Sun. A fire was lit, flames rose in the clear wintry sky, like a signal.

"On these mountains of the Vosges, young men stood round the brilliant flames of the purifying furnace. Near them stood their elders.

"The young men threw in the flames book after book, copy-book after copy-book, picture after picture, which they had gathered in the houses and farms of the village, impious witnesses of an impious era.

"They burnt the poison that the *Welche* pride and the Judeo-Masonic filth had placed, through the medium of printing-ink, in the hands of the Alsatian people. Once more, I understood why one speaks of the purifying action of fire—here it was burning poison and consuming pagan memories."

In these words, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* gave an account, on 27 December 1940, of a ceremony typical of the fanaticism of the worshippers of the New Idol.

For them, there is no culture outside the people-elect. Pyres lit by these young men were destroying intellectual work and very often unique mementos of the human mind.

One of my friends had a First Edition of Victor Hugo, with annotations from the hand of the great poet, and a First Edition, dating from the XVIIIth century, of the Franco-German Lexicon printed in Holland. Before his eyes these books were thrown into one of the fires which had been lit on the squares of towns and villages to consume the manifestations of French culture. For, in order to protect the so-called German minds of Alsatians and Lorrainers, an extensive "purifying campaign" had been undertaken as soon as the Germans arrived. Nothing escaped destruction.

Some S.A. and members of the Hitler Youth organization from Baden entered private houses and requisitioned all French books.

Whole lorryloads were heaped up in public squares where "holocausts" took place. Invaluable riches were thus committed to the flames.

A Strasburg stationer relates that one day he had to watch, powerless, the looting of his shop by a team of Gestapo agents. Expensive books and rare editions were shovelled into a lorry and savagely trampled under the boots of the police before being burnt!

Early in December 1940 a printed tract was circularized in Alsace and Lorraine, and said, among other things:

"Alsace has become German again. Everywhere in public life the French make-up has disappeared. Everywhere, as in the past, the honest German face of the country reappears.

"French novels, even translated into German, like *Les Oberlé*, by Rene Bazin, or *Colette Baudouche*, by Maurice Barrès, must disappear from our libraries as well as the loathsome literature created by the Jews, the Marxists and the Refugees. . . .

"Such disintegrating poison has no more room in our Alsatian homes! Cast away in the streets such deformed products of French propaganda and of the hatred of the peoples!

"Keep a check on your libraries, so that, side by side with the works of German poets and thinkers, one does not find any more the decadent French literature, which in our times has nothing to teach us. Collect all this alien scribble as well as reviews and papers and keep them ready to be taken away between 15 and 18 December."

The black lists included newspapers and political and satirical French magazines without exception, particularly *Marie-Claire*, a "Jewish Masonic" publication which had had a large share in perverting the French woman!

Alone, atlases, globes and collections of French stamps were not condemned, as they were not considered to be "harmful to the interests of the Reich"!

The population was invited to remit to the German authorities trade diplomas of craftsmanship couched in French, which "will be replaced by much more artistic German diplomas." Even Junior School certificates had, according to an order dated 8 April 1941, to be delivered to the Germans.

Every trace of the French language was obliterated. Names of streets engraved in stone since the XVIIIth century were erased. In Colmar, the inscription recalling the activities of the Sovereign Council of Alsace before the Revolution of 1789 was shattered. Brass plates on the doors of doctors, lawyers, bailiffs, attorneys, were replaced. Sometimes it was sufficient to remove one or two letters to achieve the desired result. Georges was easily changed into Georg, Droguerie into Drogerie. Alsatians were overjoyed, saying that thus, on Victory Day, the good old state of things would rapidly be re-established.

The integral purge was to have ended on 20 March 1941 and, in announcing this postponement, eleven days in advance, the Press declared:

"It is an improper thing and a lie to call a 'Klingel' a 'bell.'"

"It is an improper thing and a provocation to tolerate notices in the French language, such as '*Défense de déposer des bicyclettes*' (The parking of bicycles is forbidden)."

"The list of improper and false notices is a long one: but, in this domain, our *Kreisleiter* wishes the work to be thoroughly done. And he has full justification for his actions (?)"

"Then let us set to the task with courage. The time limit fixed is now short!"

There was, in fact, little time left, and it was on the 28th that the papers triumphantly proclaimed that the work had been carried out.

"Yesterday, long firemen's ladders were erected throughout the town. However, nowhere was there a fire. The fight of the white-clad men on ladders was against the remnant, the very last shreds of two decades of French domination in Alsace, an era which now only seems to us a bad dream."*

Letter-boxes, or rather *Briefkasse*, were painted with German colours.

Hotels were forced to take German names. The *Maison-Rouge* in Strasburg was called "Hotel Rotes Haus." The famous *Hôtel Bellevue* near Ribeauville became "Hotel Berghof" in honour of the Führer, whose Berchtesgaden estate bears this name.

As early as August 1940 Alsatians and Lorrainers were "invited" to get rid of all the French "rubbish," starting with flags and tricolour ribbons, "the material of which could be used profitably by the housewife"; also of statuettes of Joan of Arc, photographs and maps recalling some district of France.

In Lorraine, Bürckel also exercised his vigilance in protecting German minds from French corruption. As early as 21 September 1940 he declared in Metz:

"Ninety years of French domination have left a French veneer that will completely disappear in the course of the cleaning operations with which we are proceeding."

Gigantic posters were placed, in May 1941, on "publicity pillars" in Alsace. They were the symbol of "the political needs of our times" said the papers, which hailed such steps with appropriate comments:

"Let us purge the German soul of all the dirt of the *Welches*."

"The French Chanticleer shall never again crow in Alsace. Even in France the bust of Marianne has been stored in the box-room; bugles, kepis, helmets and Basque berets are now only the relics of a vanished military glamour and of a clique of intolerant jingoes who made life hard for the Alsatians."

"Let us wipe out all those fossils! Let us expel them from our country and our minds. Let us use the broom vigorously inside and outside! Now is the time for cleaning! Away with the cock's feathers and tricolour tatters! We want a clean room! For 21 years Jews and other scoundrels have soiled it with their filth!"

"During that time Alsatians have been left to sink in misery, except for a small group of dishonest people, so-called superior. In the political sphere Alsatians have been bled white. Let those who have not yet understood join Marianne's plaster image and Hansi's crowing cock! We shall never see so-called upper-classes, whose haughty manner we know too well, betray the Alsatian people to desert them afterwards."

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 28 March 1941.

Gestapo agents forcibly entered private houses to search for anything that brought France back to memory.

Time-worn postcards, yellow with age, mementoes of an ancient visit to Paris, touching miniature Eiffel Towers with their lead all tarnished brought back by pious hands, photographs of the "Great Exhibition," serviette rings, bone penholders showing through their glass transparent coloured pictures of Napoleon's tomb and the Grand Boulevards, ladies with feathered hats and swelling skirts, paperweights displaying to the admiring eyes of provincial tourists the vista of the Trocadero . . . everything was snatched by the police. Even writing-paper with French headlines was taken away!

What tears streamed silently when the jack-booted police with the black and brown uniform had left the house with their pitiable booty!

After ransacking private dwellings, the Brownshirts entered cemeteries to tear inscriptions in French from wreaths on the graves. Gestapo agents searched the houses to make sure that inscriptions, such as "Salt," "Pepper," "Flour," had been Germanized on cooking utensils. Taps showing the words "Hot" or "Cold" were scrapped.

Meanwhile, demolition gangs were at work. For all French monuments were also doomed.

Even what the Germany of William II had respected was destroyed. In all towns of Alsace and Lorraine, on the old battlefields, monuments recalling the glory of France disappeared.

The bas-relief of the War Memorial in Thann representing the entry of Marshal Joffre after the Great War was demolished with pickaxes.

In Strasburg, the statue of Kleber, which rose in the centre of the large square of the town, was brought down. The ashes of the glorious General of the French Revolution, deposited in the pedestal, were taken to the cemetery. The monuments of Kellerman, Pasteur and of the Marseillaise, the latter recalling the creation in the old Alsatian city of France's national song, were destroyed.

Statues of Joan of Arc were destroyed everywhere, even in churches.

In Metz the statue of the "Brave des Braves," Marshal Ney, which had been respected after 1871, suffered the same fate as that of the good king Saint Louis, of General Mangin, and King Albert of Belgium.

Was it through some vicious instinct or through fear of demonstrations that the night of 13-14 July was chosen to shatter in Metz the monument to the "Poilu" of 1914-1918?

The splendid statue of Lafayette was the pride and comfort of Messeins. It showed an equestrian effigy of the General, sword in hand, and stood in the Jardin Boufflers, facing the Moselle, the plain and the hills. On its base one could read the following inscription:

"To General de Lafayette, of the Staff of the Governor of Metz (8th August 1775), Soldier of France and adopted son of America, the Knights of Columbus dedicated this monument, on August 21st 1920, in eternal memory of the brotherly participation of France in the foundation of the United States (1775-1783) and of the glorious French and American heroes fallen on the battlefields of Liberty (1914-1918)."

The Germans blew up the statue with dynamite. The war memorials did not escape destruction. An "office for the purge of commemorative monuments in Alsace" was created in Strasburg early in 1941. The architect Stockle, who was its director, was entrusted with "revising" the 600 monuments and 300 commemorative plaques raised in 948 boroughs by the piety of Alsations.

The principle of this revision was that a war memorial must belong to the whole borough and accordingly retain a neutral form.

This was a means of striking a double blow against France and against

religion. For, under pretence that many of these monuments were French, their inscriptions were removed, which made of them "purely religious monuments," and at the same time left them without any meaning. When monuments were not demolished, their French inscriptions were replaced by these three German words: "*Gefallen für Deutschland*" ("Fallen for Germany").

The war of the Basque béret was a grotesque episode in this purge. For reasons which are not very clear, the Basque-béret seems to produce on Germans the same effect as the scarlet cape on the bull. They charge! . . . "Remove the Basque béret!" wrote the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* on 13 May 1941 in an article deserving to be handed to posterity and which provoked the laughter of Alsatians.

"The Basque béret is worn by woodcutters in the Basque forests where it matches perfectly the sun-tanned faces of the wearers.

"The fact that the Basque béret is easy to wear has given it an equally great popularity in Alsace. But here it has to deal with an alien climate. Many Alsatians with fair hair, who thought they were compelled to wear such a béret, did not realize they had become ridiculous. Undoubtedly this headwear does not suit men of our race. It is made for the shortly built, dark and agile Mediterranean type. One has only to try and get one of those men to put on a cap or a German helmet to understand to what extent it is impossible for men of German race to wear a béret!

"Today we can no longer tolerate such gestures betraying the absence of all reason. Today the wearing of the Basque-béret is being superseded by events. We wish to adapt ourselves to the Reich also in our external appearance, since we belong to it for ever, although some people, a prey to the English disease, still refuse to admit it. The Basque-béret does not fit in with our scenery. It is not suitable to our heads or faces, and, above all, it is quite out of place in German Alsace. Down, then, with this headwear alien to the German race!"

This high philosophy and refined aesthetics having been misunderstood by the matter-of-fact mind of the Alsatians, the following decree was published on 16 May 1941 in Colmar:

"From the 15th May, whoever wears a béret darkening the brains* shall be sent to a concentration camp! Heil Hitler!"

"The Chief of the District, K. GLAS."

This typically German argument having failed to enlighten the dull brains of the natives, steps were taken, on 3 October 1941, and Alsatians who stubbornly wore a Basque béret were sentenced to seven months' imprisonment.

Then the children of Sainte Marie aux Mines arrived at school one winter morning wearing straw hats, bowlers, top hats and firemen's helmets!

This was not the last of the Basque béret!

On 19 March 1943 the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* clamoured against the reappearance of that objectionable headwear:

"Lately Basque bérêts have occasionally been worn again in Alsace. This hat served as a uniform and external emblem. One knows it was forbidden in Alsace by a decree of the Chief of Civil Administration dated 13 December 1941.

"It is likely that the few Alsatians who, at the present time, flaunt on some occasions Basque bérêts, do so on utilitarian grounds, unless they are

* *Gehirverdunkelungskappe*; in French in the text: "béret Basque."

guilty of negligence. However, necessitous Alsatians have had many times the opportunity of exchanging those French bérêts for suitable hats and caps.

"Alsations who do not set much store by being considered as French and treated accordingly would do well to part permanently with them."

Villages and towns reassumed the names they had previous to 1914. Those which had kept, down the ages, their French version were translated into German. Bitche, now spelt Bitsch or Colmar; Deutsch-Oth for Audun-le-Tiche; Kastenholz for Chatenois; Ludwigsfeste for Fort-Louis; Markkirch instead of Sainte Marie aux Mines; Marsmunster for Marmoutiers are found.*

Names of streets underwent the same fate. Hitler Squares, Goering thoroughfares multiplied like flies on a dung-heap. The process caused numerous incidents in which the wit of Alsatians and Lorrainers had a free rein. In Mulhausen, the Rue du Sauvage ("Street of the Savage") was for some time the joy of the population. It had been renamed Hitlerstrasse! Up to the day when Germans, prompted at last by the derisive catcalls of the population, decided to rename it.

The charming names of Rue des Oiseaux ("Bird Street") Place de l'Homme de Fer ("Man of Iron Square"), Rue de la Maison des Têtes ("Street of the House of Heads"), became Hitlerstrasse, Hermann Goering Platz, etc., and were given back their fine old names, as the *Koelnische Zeitung* said 26 July 1941. These fine old names were Kalbgasse, Blauwalkergasse, and Schiessrain, a new appellation for the famous Esplanade des Contades in Strasburg.

The Autonomist Karl Roos, shot during the war for high treason, was more especially favoured. He gave his name in particular to the illustrious "Kleber Square" in Strasburg.

M. Daladier and the late Neville Chamberlain were withdrawn from circulation. Bismarck and Moltke were reinstated as godfathers. Horst Wessel superseded Jean Jauris. In Strasburg, the old Broglie Square became Adolf Hitler-Platz. The venerable Lycée Fustel de Coulanges was called "Erwin von Steinbachschule." And the Street of November 22 (celebrating the entry of the French in Strasburg on that day in 1918) became "Strasse des 19te Juni" to recall the date of the entry of the Germans in 1940!

THE BLACK SHEEP

Seizing the country, calling back all those who are attached to it by the link of the blood, form only the first two stages of the German Plan.

The German blood, thus redeemed, must be given back its original purity. In other words, all inhabitants must be subjected to classification.

Those who give the proof that they have preserved their German mind shall be allowed to remain. Those incapable of being assimilated shall be eliminated and immediately sent back to the "French reserve" or so-called "Free Zone." Those capable of re-education, submitted to a suitable régime, in the country or in Germany, may be later admitted in the Walhalla of *civitas Germanica*.

This third part of the Pan-Germanic plan was applied with as much severity as the first two parts.

Those incapable of being assimilated were the first to be expelled, at least in

* We include in the Annex a complete list of these changes, as it appeared in the book published in 1940 under the auspices of Dr. Meissner, Chief of the Reich Chancellery, *Elsass und Lothringen, Deutsches Land*. It is to be noticed that such towns as Remiremont, appearing in the list, were not included in the Reich before 1914 and have been part of French Lorraine since Louis XIV. This is another proof of the annexation plans of Germany in the event of a victory of the Reich.

theory. In practice, a great number of Alsatians and Lorrainers were expelled only because they owned the land the Germans wanted to seize to colonize. This tendency was often the more frequent because the executants benefited from these thefts.

Needless to say, the Jews were the first victims. They had practically disappeared, expelled by the military authority, when civilians undertook civil administration.

On 22 July 1940 there appeared in the *Elsasser Kurier*, under the signature of a certain Haug, an article entitled "Yesterday the Jews, Today the French."

Towards that time the author of these lines witnessed in person, in a town in Savoy, the arrival of a hundred of our compatriots from Lorraine. They were Sisters of Mercy in their winged head-dress from the convents of Metz, and civilians born in the country.

They talked indignantly of their sufferings. Some S.S. had come, requesting them to be ready within half an hour. They were allowed to take away with them only 2,000 francs in silver and 100 lb. of luggage. All their other property had been confiscated. One sister told us that some S.S. had remained with her while she was dressing to make sure she could hide nothing in her clothing. A photographer born in Metz was forbidden to take with him his camera, his means of livelihood. His wife, considered German, had had to remain there. We must repeat that those in question were not French people coming from the interior who had settled down after 1918, but old families, whose origin in the country dated from time immemorial.

It was heartrending to hear those unfortunate beings speak to the people who had rushed to meet them on hearing of their arrival. At a time when the "Vichy Government," according to the famous words of Marshal Pétain, was every morning repeating that France had been beaten, these Lorrainers who had lost all, who had seen the Germans act as the masters of the country, were shouting on that square of a town in Savoy:

"The Germans will be beaten. We shall re-enter Metz!"

Expulsions in Lorraine greatly increased after 15 August 1940. This date is celebrated with particular earnestness by the Catholic Lorrainers. In Metz, the day before, on Saint Jacques' Square where stands the statue of the Holy Virgin, without any signal being given, the population, representing every social class, came to lay a profusion of flowers on the pedestal of the monument. In the afternoon of the following day they covered the square itself, and the crowd passed in endless procession. During the days that followed, officials of the police expelled persons suspected of sympathizing with France. Armed police patrolled towns and villages, in lorries driven by men wearing the uniform of the various Party organizations. Having reached their goal, they arrested specified people to whom they had previously handed a notice of expulsion.

Having received such notice, the expelled and the members of his family were treated as prisoners. Kept under close guard, watched by six men armed to the teeth, they were requested to make their preparations.

If the police found their victims in bed or in a state of undress one of these armed ruffians imposed his presence. Thus, women and girls had to change and dress under their gaze.

If the questioned person happened to possess in the house more than the authorized maximum, the surplus was purely and simply confiscated by the policeman, who immediately put it in his case. Millions in cash were thus literally stolen, since the victims could never obtain the slightest acknowledged receipt.

It is a fact that these German policemen had raised robbery to the rank of an official institution. But before leaving with his pockets and case full, the policeman affixed to the front door a slip of paper placing the house under the protection of the law!

It is true to say that he came back the same day or the following days to make

a second choice. Then he replaced the first "surety" notice by another. All were of the same type.

The exiles were then transported in lorries to a central meeting-place (in the Upper Rhine it was a lunatic asylum) where they stayed for two or three days, sleeping on the hay and badly under-nourished. The lorries then called for them again, whence they were driven to the station. There they were installed, often in cattle-trucks, and were taken to the boundaries of the occupied zone.

A rich farmer, mayor of a borough in the region of Colmar, who employed twenty men, learned from the Gestapo that he must leave immediately. He asked that he might first settle with his employees and render them their due. This was refused. His wife and daughter were expelled with him. An agent noticed that the latter was wearing a beautiful gold bracelet. "You have a beautiful jewel there," he said. "That will make a handsome present for my daughter," and he promptly relieved her of it.

Monseigneur Heintz, Bishop of Metz, was expelled at dawn from his diocese. His mother, who shared all his apostolic life, was denied the right of accompanying him. She was 81 years old and would remain alone, without shelter, serving as hostage.

Divorce was recommended to an old couple of whom the woman, aged 75 years, was born in Lorraine, and the husband, 80 years old, born in Meurthe-et-Moselle. The woman would be allowed to remain in Lorraine, but the old man would be expelled. When they refused this method of separation, they were expelled together.

A father was not allowed to go and look for his wife and three children a few miles distant, but was exiled with one child who happened to be with him.

A young woman married to a French officer had to abandon her dying mother. A mother whose child was in hospital was forced to leave without seeing it. Children were driven out without their parents, wives without husbands, and husbands without wives.

At the end of September and during October 1940, the ejections came to a pause. It was probably necessary at this juncture to test the goodwill of France and to prepare the way for the famous interview of "Montoire." But from mid-November the movement regained momentum, following a new and perfected plan.

It is in effect from this date that Gauleiter Bürckel, Chief of the Civil Administration of Lorraine, undertook to empty systematically certain villages of Lorraine where the inhabitants spoke French. These villages are situated in the Moselle region to the east of the railway Sarrebourg-Metz-Thionville, where the following proclamation appeared:

"Lorrainers! You all know the task with which our Führer has entrusted me. This province must become German for all time. That is why I made known in my speech at Metz that one cannot entirely dismiss repatriation within the zone of mixed languages. For in the zone in question there are various places where the inhabitants have become, during the course of time, completely Gallicized. It concerns chiefly the peasant population which inhabits this region. For, on the one hand, it is only possible to achieve immediate frontier peace by repatriation, and on the other hand, there can be no repatriation except in the East of the Reich, where we have the necessary space. That is why I have caused the population to be asked whether they wish for repatriation in France or in Germany, in the Wartegau (Poland).

"We shall achieve here at the frontier the same results which we have already seen achieved in South Tyrol, in Volhynie and Bessarabia. As the Reich has repatriated her Germans, so France will repatriate those who confess themselves French.

"We respect this decision. It is the decision of men of character who draw the necessary conclusions from their patriotic convictions. All action

must take place in a manner worthy of the decision of these French people. I have thus accordingly entered into negotiations with the French Governor, in order that :

"(1) Repatriation may be effected in good order, and that :

"(2) Repatriated families suffer no loss to their fortunes. It is for this reason that the exact value of the furniture and property belonging to repatriated families will be communicated to the French Government. The peasant population will receive afresh its basic goods and may settle wherever its conscience deems best.

"As for myself, I shall do all in my power to assure that this act of repatriation forms a contribution to peace between France and Germany, which we have always desired.

"All the services of the Party, the State, Administration and the *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* have orders to facilitate these repatriations by every means. To those workers and employees who wish to assist in any way the formation of a German frontier which will be really healthy and strong from the political point of view, I freely give the opportunity to prove henceforth their goodwill.

"(Signed) BÜRCKEL, Gauleiter."

It is a stupefying document. The Lorrainers had never been invited to choose between France and Poland. They learned of their forthcoming expulsion whilst reading this notice.

No evaluation of goods had ever taken place. None could have taken place before the precipitate flight of these unfortunate people. And, let it be understood, there was no question of it afterwards. The Vichy Government never received the slightest inventory of this description.

The wholesale expulsion of entire villages began. By means of six or seven trains per day, the unfortunates arrived in the free zone, via Dijon, Chalons, Mâcon and Lyon. There they were sheltered and sorted out in the Palace of the Sample Fair, which served as a reception centre. From thence they were directed to towns and villages in the south of France.

One should have been present at the arrival of these trains at Lyon to have seen the palpable distress of these poor people. They had lost absolutely everything, their material possessions and fortunes, their family mementos, even the right to die in the same setting where for centuries their antecessors had died. Before them stretched a future full of uncertainty, a perspective of misery and hunger. But these trains arrived in the station decorated with the Cross of Lorraine and tricolour flags, made surreptitiously, goodness knows how !

These Lorrainers, with buttonholes flaunting a cockade, surged miraculously, singing. They sang "Liberty ! Beloved Liberty !"

Under no circumstances could the exiles communicate with those whom they had left behind in Alsace-Lorraine. Before their departure they were forced to sign the following declaration :

"It has been brought to my notice today that I am no longer authorized to return either to Alsatian or Reich territory. In the case of return without preliminary permission from the police, I must expect to be interned for a term of ten years to work in a stone quarry."

On 20 November 1940, a Government communiqué announced that by the orders of Chancellor Hitler, the expulsions would be suspended in future. This was only Hitler's word and a Vichy communiqué.

As if to give immediately a flagrant contradiction to Vichy, eight days after this communiqué, Bürckel made a speech at Saarbrücken in which he proclaimed the annexation of Lorraine and the Saar, and declared :

"Those whom one calls 'Notables' and who constitute in the German frontier country a bastion of French politics and culture must be sent back to the country with which they evidently feel affinity."

. . . So much the better !

From the month of December 1940 it was the turn of the Alsatians. There were, according to certain evaluations, from 20 to 30 millions in 1940. The methods employed by the Gauleiter of Alsace were little different from those of his Lorrainian colleague. Wagner avoided wholesale expulsions which emptied entire areas, but showed himself to be more discriminating in his choice of those to be eliminated. They were primarily the heads of industrial and commercial undertakings, doctors, lawyers, solicitors, briefly all the *élite* and dominating class. Thus posts had to be created for comrades, and fortune-hunting for "enemies of the Reich" was fruitful.

The expelled Alsatians were subjected to interrogations which lasted sometimes several hours, and in certain cases after having been imprisoned in a concentration camp at Schirmeck for days or weeks.

After 20 December 1940 a slight respite was registered in the case of mass expulsions, but the individual ones continued even if the rhythm was somewhat slowed down. After Easter 1941 they accelerated their cadence. Tens of thousands of ejections were recorded in 1942 and the beginning of 1943. After 1941 the Germans practically suspended deportations to France; the loss in human capital became too great. The exiles were sent into the old Reich.

Today the number of Alsatians and Lorrainers herded from their country is estimated as 120,000 and 500,000 respectively.

PERSECUTION MANIACS

"Do you wish to dominate your nation? Start by making it believe that there is someone who wishes to dominate it. It will then be so cowed that it will easily be subjected to anyone."

GOETHE.

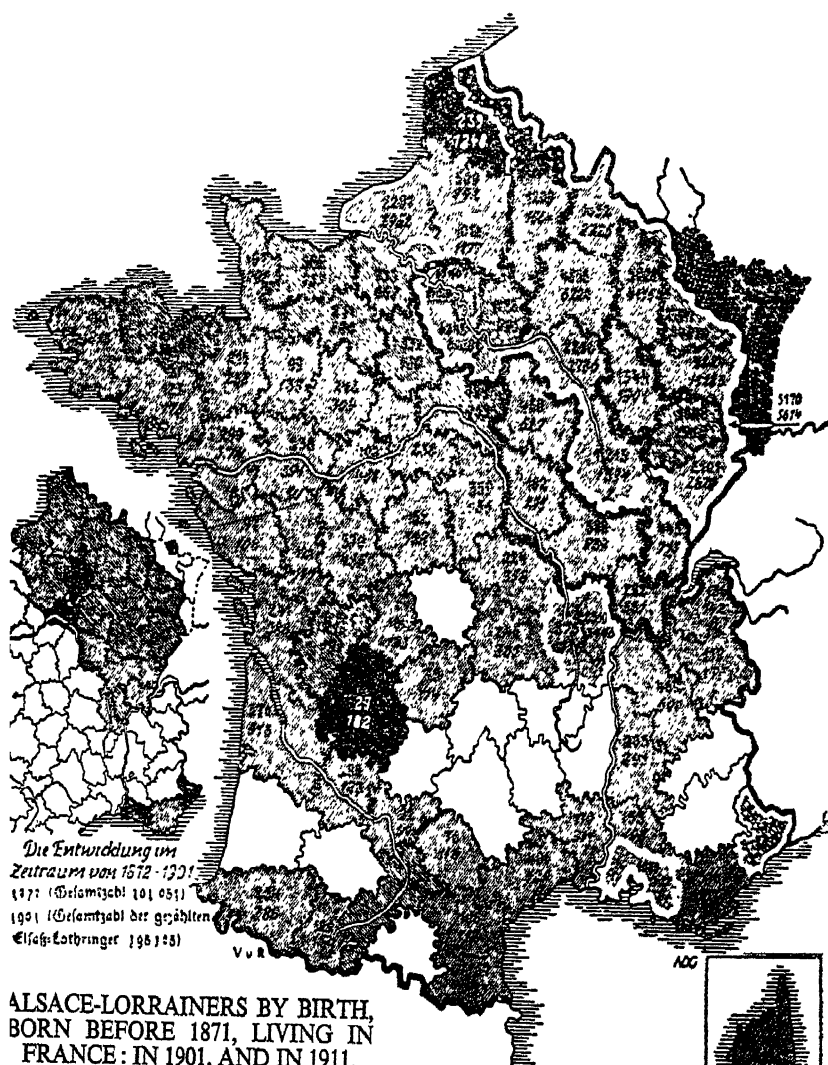
Through the meanderings followed by German propaganda, a few familiar themes always recur.

One of them is foremost: the obsession of persecution.

The German believes himself to be surrounded with evil and jealous spirits, fiercely bent on destroying his country, waiting only for a moment of weakness to assail him unawares.

This idea has been developed a thousand times, before and since the advent of Nazism. But to Dr. Kopp must be given the credit of having expressed it with the most sublime candour. Early in October 1941, before a gathering of Civil Servants and municipal clerks of Mülhausen, this National Socialist propagandist related the history of Germany in the following terms, literally translated from the German:

"There is in Central Europe a beautiful garden, Germany. This garden, cultivated with skill and love by a peace-loving people, stirred the envy of its neighbours. They formed an alliance to invade and ravage it. This was the war of 1914. But after 1918 a man arose who resolved to restore to the Germans their beautiful garden. For twenty years he worked to put the garden in perfect trim again, asking for nothing else than to live in peace with all his neighbours. But when he had achieved his magnificent task, again the jealousy of the neighbours arose. They again agreed together to attack the beautiful garden. Then some friends



**ALSACE-LORRAINERS BY BIRTH,
BORN BEFORE 1871, LIVING IN
FRANCE: IN 1901, AND IN 1911.**

Upper Figures: 1911.

Lower Figures: 1901.

Changes between 1872-1901:

1872 (Total: 101,051).

1901 (Total of Alsace-Lorrainers in
the census: 198,185).

Sowohl 1901 wie 1911 wurde nur ein Teil der
Elfsch-Lorrringer in Frankreich
departementweise ermittelt. Die
Gesamtzahl betrug 1901 höchst wahr-
scheinlich 273,000, 1911 vermutlich
etwa 250,000



n 1901 and in 1911 the Alsace-Lorrainers living in France were only partly counted. In
all probability the actual totals would be 273,000 in 1901 and 250,000 in 1911.

came to him to help him plant in Europe another fine garden, only greater and larger, in which all Europeans could live in peace and calm. In this Great European House, which is being built, there is a small room set aside for Alsatians to enable them as well as the others to enjoy the happiness of the New Era."*

It would be an error simply to believe that, in delivering this speech, Dr. Kopp was consciously falsifying history for the sake of propaganda. We would naturally not go so far as to advance that, in tracing this biblical picture, Dr. Kopp had failed to realize that he was somewhat distorting the truth, but he was convinced that he erred only in a measure permissible in order to make the same truth easily understandable.

This idea of persecution, the obsession of being constantly spied upon by enemies, is such an essential element of German mentality that it can be traced in the very dawn of German literature.

For instance, Siegfried, the invincible hero, succumbed only because a traitor in the darkness waited for a moment of carelessness to stab him with his sword in a vulnerable spot.

It is precisely the perfidy of the enemy which justifies the use of the most disloyal means to defeat him. Thus is explained the impudence of Hitler's false oaths. This is also why the Germans have made of Hermann their national hero. Without doubt he conquered Varrus, but how? By insinuating himself into the Romans' grace, by living with them, flattering them and winning their trust. When he had thus obtained the command of the Roman General's rear-guard, he treacherously attacked his army from the rear!

The obsession of treachery, which is such a gift of their own, is so strong in the Germans that, through a reactionary process, they have repeatedly claimed that loyalty is an essential quality of their race. The famous *Treue* is hailed by them as the foremost virtue of their character. To such an extent that when, in ancient history, an army of mercenaries remained loyal to their chief betrayed by all, the Germans claim to detect in this fact a sure proof that this army was composed of Germans.

It is not by chance that loyalty forms the foundation of German Feudal Law, which by that feature is distinct from Roman Law.

Some authors have, quite logically, deduced that the attachment and loyalty of Alsatians and Lorrainers to France was a proof that they were undoubtedly Germans.

In the XIXth century, Fichte based his political philosophy on the obsession of neighbours. He declares in his Sixth Address to the German nation :

"Your neighbour, unless he is persuaded to look upon you as his natural ally against another Power dangerous to both simultaneously, is always ready to increase, at your expense, on the first opportunity. He is obliged to do so if he has any wisdom and he could not do otherwise, were he your brother!"

Fichte added :

"If the German nation had remained united in a common strength and will-power, other Europeans would have slaughtered each other in vain, Germans would have saved their peace.

"But the egoism of foreign peoples which foresees everything except the immediate future could not bear such a state of things. They found that they could make use of German courage, and that, thanks to it, they could

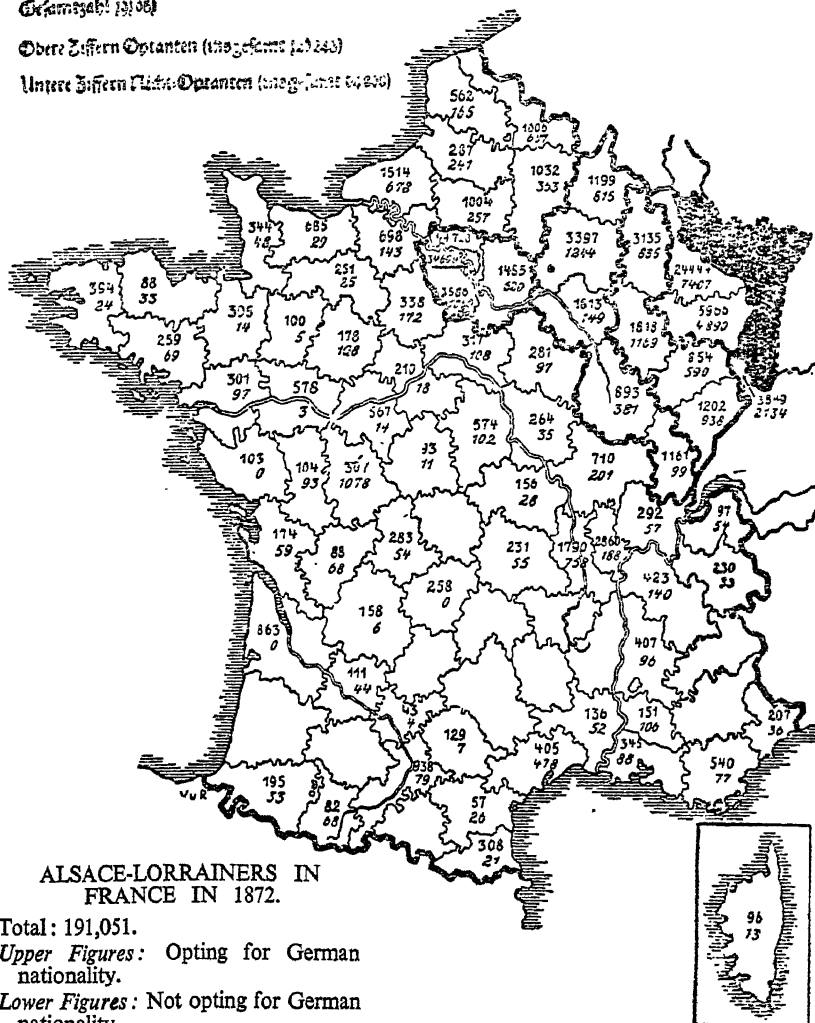
* If any reader is inclined to think I am going too far, let him read the *Journal de Mulhouse*, dated 4 October 1941.

Elſaß-Lothringer in Frankreich 1872

Gefamtezahl 191,051

Obere Ziffern Optanten (189,966) (1872-1873)

Untere Ziffern Nicht-Optanten (1,085) (1872-1873)



ALSACE-LORRAINERS IN FRANCE IN 1872.

Total: 191,051.

Upper Figures: Opting for German nationality.

Lower Figures: Not opting for German nationality.

This plan is an extract from the book *Fremdsprachige Einwanderung in das französische Sprachgebiet Frankreichs vor dem Weltkrieg* (Immigration of Foreign-speaking Elements into the Linguistic Territory of France Before the World War), published in 1935 by "Volk und Reich," Berlin.

take their prey from their competitors ; it was a question of finding a man to succeed, and alien cunning triumphed without effort over the German ingenuity and simplicity."

At the same time, Helmuth von Moltke (*The Question of the Western Frontier*) saw in the hatred sworn by foreigners against a Germany who was otherwise a victim of internal tension the cause of all the calamities of the Reich :

"We must avoid our internal difficulties which cause us to neglect external politics. All our misfortunes have only had such forgetfulness as their cause. It is only because we Germans quarrelled about private ideas and interests and meanwhile forgot to look at our external frontiers that our neighbours were able to plunder and weaken us.

"Whatever the object of a quarrel, the result is always the same, namely that every one of our dissensions is used by the enemy to carry out our undoing. Even in peace-time we must liken ourselves to a Great Army, entrenched in its camp facing a powerful foe. We must achieve union to face the outward enemy."

Fifty years later, in 1908, Ernst Hasse wrote in *The Future of the German People* (*Die Zukunft des deutschen Volkstums-Munich*) 1906, p. 126 :

"The German people needs war to be able to defend itself every instant against a whole world of enemies. We have enemies on all sides."

It is the exploitation of this feeling that enabled Hitler to obtain his success. Before his appearance on the political scene, when German troops came back to their homes after the Armistice of 1918, they found, on entering many German towns, triumphal arches bearing the inscription : "*Willkommen unserem unbesiegten Heer !*" ("Hail to our unconquered Army !")

When, later, Hitler told his compatriots that the German capitulation had been the outcome of a conjuration planned by the Powers of Darkness, the Jews, sworn enemies of the Germans, their hearts shuddered in rediscovering truth.

When Hitler asserted that all Germany's misfortunes were due to the Versailles Treaty, the work of demons having but one purpose, the destruction of the Reich, these speeches lit up their minds like a stroke of lightning.

When, later still, the Führer enlarged untiringly upon the theme of Germany's encirclement, he found in the subconscious mind of the people so many echoes that he was able to exact from them guns instead of butter, and to inflame them for a war "imposed upon them."

Then it was possible to force the German people with absurd utterances like this one : "The Führer had always foreseen that one day Bolshevism and Capitalism would form a united front against us."* For, between the enemies of Germany any form of collusion is possible. In order to constitute a league against her, they will always agree.

The Germans are a people obsessed by persecution. By speaking to the man in the street, in Hitler's Germany, one easily realizes to what extent they believe themselves to be the victims of universal jealousy. He tells you very earnestly, now plaintive, now sympathizing : "Foreigners envy us because we have and they have not a man like Adolf Hitler, the Führer !"

Could not this obsession be due to an inferiority complex ? That would explain many things. First of all this brutality and cynical bluntness in which Germans indulge when force is on their side, followed by extreme servility and skilful hypocrisy when they feel they are the weaker ; and also the monstrous courage they show in groups when they march to their death, which seems to be

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 28 October 1941.

difficult to reconcile with the absence of dynamism of the individual left to himself.

Those in accord with such a thesis would not have any difficulty in finding numerous arguments in their favour in the history of Germany.

Inferiority complex towards the Jews, the French and the British in particular.

"The German is not up to fighting against the cunning of Jews" (*Der Raffinertheit der Juden ist der Deutsche nicht gewachsen*).

This is what can be read in a violent anti-Jewish leaflet published in 1890 in Berlin under the title "The Desperate Struggle of Aryan Peoples Against the Jewish Rabble."

And what could we say of the language used by Bismarck himself when he received on 15 April 1895 a deputation from Styria, that is to say, from Germans living amidst Slovenes?

"The Slavs possess grace, intelligence, ruse and skill, and the Germans often appear clumsy and awkward by contrast. However, you must always keep the deepest but hidden conviction that, after all, you are superior to them!"

Concerning France, quite similar declarations are registered, and when Gauleiter Wagner declared in Ribeauville, on 8 February 1942, "We have no comparison to fear with others, not even with France," the real feeling of the speaker is easily detected.*

This is what Wagner said :

"There are some Germans who, with a 'Michel'-like objectivity, ignore their own capabilities and imagine they must make curtsies to foreigners. Many among them do not behave as members of a people should behave, who can boast of having carried out unique realizations in the artistic world as well as in that of organization, and engineering, and whose military successes are unique in the history of the world.

"There is also a type of German who surrenders to a plateful of French *hors d'œuvres* and who feels proud when the waiter of a Paris café assures him that his atrocious French is so charming that it is hard to distinguish him from a true Frenchman."

Already in the time of Napoleon, Gorres wrote in *Europe and Revolution* :

"It is in comparing them with those lively and light-headed birds (the French) that we find the Germans so heavy, so awkward, that they seem to walk on all-fours."

The speech made by von Bohle in the Chamber of Deputies on 10 April 1942 is still more illuminating. The choice of the meeting-place was significant. The wording of the speech of the chief of the Union "for Germanism abroad" is still more so :

"England and France, favoured by their geographical position and little disturbed by their enemies, have, at a very early date, been able to become nations, while the German territory was still, a relatively short time ago, the battlefield of all the alien armies.

"What other peoples have accomplished in the course of many centuries of continuous progress must be fulfilled by Germany in a few decades."†

* In considering things carefully, one wonders whether the inferiority complex regarding France is not the reason for two crucial errors committed by Hitler, the first being his having attacked France instead of Russia in 1940, the second his having wished to enter Paris instead of invading England after Dunkirk?

† Bohle, in the Palais-Bourbon, on the occasion of the appointment of Neuendorf, new Leader of the Regional Group of the Party.

If, then, the Germans declare generally that they are the victims of aliens, and by aliens they mean all that is not German blood, they sometimes happen to confess, in quite unequivocal terms, that their misfortune is of their own making.

The transfer (to use the jargon of psycho-analysts) of this phobia has a double consequence.

In the effort they make to free themselves they will endeavour first to go back to their own origin and to reach again "the sacred source of German strength."*

Secondly, believing themselves threatened, they will raise, for self-protection, force to the rank of an all-shielding God. Then they will be led, if only to ward off the enemy watching them, to make use, before he does, of force, this force created as a precautionary measure.

In 1821 Gorres, relating the history of Franco-German relations,† condemns the attitude of France at the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia and sums up in one paragraph the repercussions of this long story :

"The Germans, according to their habit of being peaceful up to candour and indolent to the point of stupidity, at last lost all patience before the cunning and brutal force of France, and slowly rising from their beloved bearskin (after the Treaty of Westphalia) destroyed in one single day, in a fit of *furor teutonicus*, feared at all times, the work pursued for centuries by the shrewdest political skill."

It is thus that all wars started by Germany are called for and, in a certain measure, believed by her to be defensive wars.

When William II, from the balcony of the Imperial Palace, announced in 1914 the outbreak of hostilities, he spoke of the "*Aufgezwungenen Krieg*" ("The war forced upon us"). The same words were used by Hitler in 1939, when he announced the entry of German troops into Poland.

In fact, war is, in the eyes of the Germans, the coming into being of the "liberating force" to which every German aspires, according to the terms of a propagandist of the Third Reich : "The liberating force from the clutch of the Powers of Evil." The Gauleiter of Lorraine used the same expression when he declared on 30 August 1942 : "Every German desires consciously or unconsciously the advent of a powerful and liberating Reich."

THE WICKED WOLF

"Everything France has added to her Eastern frontier since the XIIIth century has been obtained through an act of brigandage towards Germany."

HELMUTH VON MOLTKE, 1841.

Accordingly the Germans, always the target for the hatred of perfidious foes, have struggled for centuries to safeguard their existence, waiting for the Saviour, for that "Liberating Force" which will take them under its protection, after having crushed their enemies.

Now, from the day the Reich declared that Alsatians and Lorrainers were Germans, it was bound to be forced to alter this conception of the world for its own use and to prove that they also had been persecuted by the Powers of Evil, and in the first instance by France.

German propaganda intended therefore to develop in Alsace and Lorraine according to two parallel plans. It taught "the rediscovered Kindred" the German conception of German history and persuaded them that, like the

* Official title of the religious movement founded by Ludendorff which became later the "Movement of German Faith."

† Gorres : *Europe and Revolution* (1821), p. 384.

‡ *Erlösende Kraft*.

Germans, and because they were German, they were the victims of France, and saved, like them, by the "Liberating Force," the Wehrmacht, which in 1940 had definitely defeated this inexorable enemy.

Thus the first task of the agents of Goebbels was to reveal to Alsatians and Lorrainers the truth concerning Germany.

This truth is firstly that, from time immemorial, France has pursued only one aim : the annihilation of the Reich.

"Already, French chroniclers of the Xth and XIth centuries were dreaming of seeing France seize the Rhineland in order to impose her domination on a divided Germany. This idea has persisted in the course of centuries : it has become a kind of characteristic feature of French mentality.

"In the Middle Ages, France thought of conquering the Eastern countries. She profited by the decadence of the Hohenstaufen to snatch from the Reich Lyons and Provence, which were a part of German Burgundy.

"France then contested the possession of Burgundy from Maximilian Ist. In 1552, favoured by religious wars, France tore Metz, Toul and Verdun from Germany. The Jacobins have executed the king, but have not ceased to pursue the policy of royalty. Napoleon, who scorned the Jacobins, has nevertheless followed their policy. Kings, Republicans, Emperors have always been unanimous on one point : their aggressive policy towards the German people."

The above lines are taken from the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* of 10 January 1941. Our readers will identify in it almost word for word a famous extract from *Mein Kampf*. It seems then, once more, that the responsibility of a thesis so much exploited in Alsace could be attributed to Hitler. It would be a mistake, for Hitler himself copied it from an article which appeared in 1841 under the signature of Helmuth von Moltke : "The Question of the Western Frontier." Let the reader form his own opinion from the two following excerpts :

"Thus it is, through spoliation, a shameful spoliation, in full peace, or through a clever exploitation of our misfortunes, that France took from Germany what she still owns today. She acquired Burgundy and the Rhône valley, from Geneva to Marseille, in the time of our trial when the dynasty of Hohenstaufen became extinct. She acquired the bishoprics of Lorraine in our time of trial during the Reformation. Alsace, in the time of our tribulation in the Thirty Years War. She seized, in full peace, in the time of our impotency, Franche-Comté, part of the Netherlands and Strasburg. Through a family pact negotiated by Charles VI and gravely harmful to the German interests generally, she won, by a stroke of the pen, fair Lorraine also in the time of our impotency.

"In the sphere of political right, everything France has added to her Eastern frontier since the XIIIth century has constituted an act of high robbery to the detriment of Germany. It is thus that Lorraine and Burgundy are our former property and have been illegally severed from us."

The Gauleiter of Alsace develops the same thesis and bases his reasoning on Bainville's works.* He concludes with these words :

"You see that under pretence of German freedom, the kings of France have torn the Reich bit by bit," and that is why "Germany was prevented from dedicating herself to her historic task : colonization of the East for European culture and civilization."

* Speech delivered 28 March 1943 in Strasburg.

Well, even so as she wished to destroy the Reich, France has endeavoured to annihilate Alsatians and Lorrainers, to expel them from their country and to slaughter them because they were Germans.

"From the time of the Revolution, plans for 'transplantation' had been elaborated in Paris. It had been proposed to strip whole districts of Alsace of their population and to exterminate part of the Alsatians thus deported by drowning them *en masse* in rivers. Others would be installed as 'colonists' in French countries with a scattered population. Veterans from the Revolution wars were to settle in Alsace, in order to turn it into a French centre.*

These plans were resumed after 1918, under the pretence of shielding Alsatians and Lorrainers in case of war.

"In 1936, the municipal council of Strasburg agreed to take the criminal decision of transplanting in French depopulated counties Alsatians and Lorrainers to force them little by little to forget their dialect and their customs.

"The evacuation of the first zone was to be followed by the second. If the war had lasted a little longer, the whole of Alsace would have been evacuated and the country destroyed. Only a few evacuated Alsatians could have returned to the country."†

Wherever France has not succeeded in destroying the Reich, she reduced her to bondage.

"Germany was being held in bondage by France and compelled to furnish her with slave-labour. . . . That is the only reason why she has known the life of plenty!"‡

"France has been lucky enough to live for many years at the expense of Germany, thanks to war-levies and grants of material."

And the same applies to Alsace and Lorraine.

France Plundered Lorraine is the title of an anonymous pamphlet printed at the end of January 1941 in Colmar.||

This pamphlet inspired innumerable articles and many speeches of Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel:

"With the methods of exploitation of the French brigands, the mineral ore of Lorraine would have been exhausted in a hundred years, whereas, under rational management, they would surely have lasted 200 years . . . Lorraine also was only for France a colonial booty difficult to exploit."¶

As to Alsace, she was first plundered the very day she became French, that is to say since the Revolution.

"Then" [writes Professor von Leers]** "the Alsatian peasant fell under the domination of a new social class formed from town inhabitants. Quite ignorant of country matters, these upstarts had often impudently grown rich

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 November 1942.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Roth, Regional Chief of the Labour Front. Speech delivered on 21 May 1941 in Mülhausen.

§ Gauleiter Robert Wagner, 30 March, 1942.

|| Published by the *Alsatian Editions* late publisher of the *Elsasser Kurier*, Autonomist paper of Abbé Haegy.

¶ *Ein Koloniales Ausbeutungsobjekt—Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 25 October 1941.

** *Voelkscher Beobachter*, 5 April 1942.

through dishonest business. They speculated on national property confiscated during the Revolution. Promoted to prominent positions, they repressed the old Alsatian patriots. They were the profiteers of the Revolution. Besides, they appeared more French than the French themselves. This is understandable. The Revolution had given them wealth and power. They exercised a kind of tutelage on the peasants and Alsatian workers."

A long survey of the way in which France had looted Alsace appeared in the *Elsaesische Monatshefte* of February 1941. It was used also to inspire hundreds of articles.

"What France wanted was to treat Alsace like a Balkan State, to lower her to the level of a provider of raw material, potash, oil and perhaps also some agricultural products."*

The same France, whose only aim is the destruction and ruin of the Germanic race, Germans, Alsations and Lorrainers, the France standing foremost in the rank of malevolent Powers in league against the Reich, can only be afflicted with horrid vices, like a fierce witch bent on the undoing of a fair young girl. And the Germans at once paint a lurid picture of this new wicked fairy. She is not only malevolent, but lazy and debauched, inebriate, perverse, decrepit and sadistic!

"France has long lived in immorality and debauchery. Never in history has a people been able to endure by leading a lascivious life!

"Alcoholism has caused France to rot, also the frequency of divorces, the slums and tuberculosis. . . ."

"In France, people thought they could live without working and pursue an indolent existence."†

"The well-known progress of France was chiefly marked by an increase in drunkenness and coarse pleasure."‡

"France is corrupt and dilapidated."§

"The French did not like work."||

Such decadence is not purely recent, and the present state of things is only the result of a long process of disintegration. Already in the time of Joan of Arc

"we see manifestations of corruption, lack of discipline at the French Court and in the French army, fanatical covetousness and class strife which will have the upper hand over Nationalism."¶

Under the domination of such a country, Alsace and Lorraine were exposed to all dangers. For, even if France had not been nurturing sinister designs, she would have dragged Alsations and Lorrainers in her intellectual, economic and moral degeneration!

Intellectual decadence, for French schools brought shame to civilization!

"The French Minister of Education had limited his activities to the building of a few modern palatial schools in some localities bordering on the frontier. They lacked classrooms, lighting, and school appliances. German administration in Lorraine found the schools quite unfit for use."***

* *Voelkischer Beobachter*, 5 April, 1942.

† Gauleiter Wagner on 4 March 1941 (speech broadcast in the whole of Alsace) and 8 February 1942.

‡ Article published by all Alsatian papers, 4 April 1941.

§ *Mülhausen Tageblatt*, 21 September 1941.

|| *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 28 February 1941.

¶ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1942.

*** *Essener National Zeitung*, 5 April 1942.

"During 22 years of French rule, nothing or almost nothing had been done to maintain the scientific level of the University."*

The University in question here is the University of Strasburg about which, 13 March 1941, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* said quite bluntly :

"Under French domination it has never been capable of supplying higher education to French youth because, to a certain point, it is possible to say that the French educational system aimed, for the reason that it only ensured fragmentary knowledge, at the intellectual maiming of young Alsace."

Professor Karl Schmidt, Rector of Strasburg University, declared in the course of a Press conference : "The French have renounced the pretension of counting among the chief civilized nations."†

In the economic sphere as well France was dragging Alsace-Lorraine with her to ruin.

"Under French domination, Alsace threatened to come down to the level of the poorest countries of Europe," declared Gauleiter Wagner on 20 March 1942.

A learned book‡ was dedicated to demonstrate that, in the course of history, Alsatian and Lorrainian economics have flourished every time the country has been returned to Germany and have been in complete decline "when under French rule."

"If today only 55 per cent. of the country's needs for lump sugar and molasses can be provided for by the beet production, it is due to the policy of distribution of areas devoted to the cultivation of sugar-beet before the war. Under French rule, these areas were very limited because of the great sugar importation from the colonies, which made it impossible to pay the workers an adequate salary."

Similar French incapacity is noticed in the question of heating. "Germany has succeeded in solving this problem that the French Republic has vainly endeavoured to solve for years.§"

Such is the thesis expounded for Germany by the Nazis before the war. In fact, to suppress unemployment the Germans had only found one remedy : preparation for war. And it is by forcing the people to work for war that they have suppressed unemployment in Alsace and Lorraine.

Thus, then, "if Alsace had remained French for two more years, her economic life would have been wrecked by a crisis without precedent."||

"Whoever knows the history of these times is aware that two more years of French government would have been sufficient to throw Alsace in the industrial cemetery which loomed threateningly on the horizon."¶

And it is the same story in all spheres.

If a new building is erected, Gauleiter Wagner exclaims, "What misery has not been experienced by this building in the time of the French !"*** If a new radium lamp is installed, immediately journalists and Gauleiters vie with each other to assert, "In French Alsace there were twice the number of tubercular people than in German Baden."††

* Professor Karl Schmidt, of Bonn, on the occasion of the reopening of Strasburg University.

† It is hardly necessary to recall, for the fact is still present in the memory of all, that Strasburg University ranked among the most brilliant in France in all spheres. Mathematics, physics, Slav languages, philology, astronomy, etc., were taught there by masters such as Villat, Olivier, Mazon, Ribaud, Fouché, Esclangon, etc., whose names will remain in the history of science and literature. The University of Strasburg was, in fact, the Gate to the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, where all the professors we have quoted are now lecturing.

‡ R. Bleicher : *Alsace and Lorraine from the Point of View of Economics*.

§ *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 19 June 1943.

|| *Ibid*.

¶ *Mülhausen Tageblatt*, 15 April 1943.

*** *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 19 November 1941

†† *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 21 March 1943.

Is it a question of granting pensions to war victims? "French law is characterized by its schemes. It does not take into account the physical disability of the capacity for work."*

If a Commercial Fair happens to be organized in Strasburg, it stands in violent contrast with the miserable European Fair of the French period.†

The reopening of the Strasburg Theatre gave rise to the following comments:‡ "In the course of the last twenty years it had fallen to the level of a negligible French provincial stage."

And about the Metz Theatre, the *Koelnische Zeitung* said on 5 December 1941: "The new theatre is provided with modern lighting, a revolving stage, a sound-proof cabin, all of which were unknown in the time of the French."

The *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* wrote on 29 April 1942:

"If the Hitler Youth organization is entrusted with the upkeep of the graves and monuments of the soldiers who fell at Gravelotte and Saint Privat, it is because these graves have been totally neglected by the French."

We quote again:

"And what can we say of hygiene? Child mortality in Metz is only 7.9 per cent. in 1941, against 13.2 per cent. in the past years. Tuberculosis has spread extensively in Alsace because, under French rule, measures taken against this disease of the people were limited to safeguarding the means of existence of the patients."§

In the case of the condemnation of a wrongdoer: "It is characteristic that French Tribunals have never set about the prevention of the confirmed offender from doing any more harm."||

If a Pharmacy Exhibition is contemplated: "In 1872 there was in Strasburg but a handful of students in Pharmacy."

Even a Gliding School is criticized: "Alsatian youth had been kept by the French completely in the dark concerning aviation."

That is the consequence of an era of the past.

The "Liberating Force", the Wehrmacht, had in 1940 torn fair Alsace and sweet Lorraine from the clutches of the French termagant. Today Alsatians and Lorrainers, returned to civil life, "can work peacefully, sheltered from the war, thanks to the Führer."¶

Unfortunately, six months later, the famous "Liberating Force" not having been strong enough to be effectively "liberating", Alsatians returned to civilian life were mobilized again, this time wearing the uniform of the enemy!

This propaganda was doomed to failure, not so much because of the gross distortion it gave to truth—distortion not always readily understood by the masses, or because of sophisms whose subtlety is very often not grasped by the average mind, but the fact that it was based upon a wrong psychological postulate vitiated such propaganda.

When the Germans told Alsatians and Lorrainers that their country had been plundered, enslaved, and ruined by the French, they only developed themes familiar to the Germans and which, as we have seen, stirred up deep memories in their souls. It has been a mistake to believe that like memories would find any echo in Alsatians and Lorrainers. This mistake became unavoidable from the day the Reich established the principle that these Alsatians and Lorrainers

* Schoffit, Leader of the Strasburg Section, 7 November 1941.

† Hunke, Publicity Chief of the Strasburg Fair, 28 August 1941.

‡ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 December 1941.

§ *N.D.Z.*, 18 February 1942.

|| *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 30 May 1943.

¶ *Ibid.*, 3 December 1941.

were Germans. It then supposed that the same arguments would produce among them the same results as in Germany. It is because they attributed their own mentality to Alsatians and Lorrainers that the Germans were bound to meet with the failure brought about by the resistance of their "rediscovered kindred."

Foerster, the German Catholic writer, has upheld this paradox, that if Alsatians were attached to France, it was because they were true Germans, because they have kept the love of ancient German liberties, now extinct, and which they can only enjoy in remaining French.

It is not our intention to discuss this strange conception, at least it is based on a well-established fact of experience: the profound love Alsatians and Lorrainers have for freedom.

The pride of belonging to an elect race was offered as a substitute by Germany to Alsatians and Lorrainers. But they had too much good sense not to scoff at such a theory.

That is why German propaganda in Alsace and Lorraine was doomed to failure which could have been accurately forecast by any reasonable human being well versed in these provinces. But were the Germans endowed with any reason when they claimed to dominate the world?

THE JEALOUS GOD

"Happy are those who wage war. They will not be called Jehovah's children, but the children of Odin who is greater than Jehovah."

NIETZSCHE.

In a church, a man in black uniform, wearing an armlet with the swastika, is sitting at the place where formerly the altar stood.

Around him, along the choir, stiff and stern, are the local Führers and deputy-Führers. We are in Thann, in St. Andrew's Chapel.*

What are those black and red "high officials" doing in the church where the Christian God used to extend His love and charity? They are officiating. They are the priests of the War God, the German Volk!

They teach that the Volk must reign on earth, above the other peoples, who, for their part, partake of no divine attributes, since their blood is sullied; they teach that every German being must consecrate his strength and thoughts to this idol, that he must give it his soul, that nothing exists outside of it, that all must be sacrificed to it—morals, fortune, happiness and life. This Volk is represented by a living incarnation: the-Führer.

This Führer, then, must be worshipped like a God. Like God, he is infallible.

"The Führer cannot be wrong, and, like God, the Führer is strong and powerful, but he is also meek and good." (*"Der Führer ist stark; er ist mächtig, aber er ist auch weich und gut."*) This sentence is one of those which were repeated in unison by the school-children of Alsace and Lorraine.

Certainly not! God is not French! God is the German people; it is the elect Volk called upon to reign over the earth and its law is the National Socialist doctrine. To be a Nazi is to be a worshipper of the German Volk.

Herder had undoubtedly not dreamt of such an apotheosis! But the ceremonies of Thann or Hamburg are the logical issue of his thoughts, developed in a way Germans alone know how, until the final outcome of these thoughts provides German Imperialism with a formidable lever.

A triumphant religion, raised to the rank of a State institution, is not usually inclined to be kind to others. Nazism was to become the more poisonous from

* The photograph of this strange ceremony appeared in the French clandestine paper *Verités* in April 1941.

the fact that it constituted not only an institution, but the very essence of the State who owed its existence to it; more poisonous still because its priests were Germans, who thought they were all-powerful, and on the verge of crushing the world by the force of arms.

Therefore there is no cause for wondering why, in countries subjected to their domination, the struggle against the Catholic faith—a creed of alien origin—took a savage turning.

The Jealous Idol attacked God. It expelled His priests.

At the beginning of October 1941, from Lorraine alone, more than 300 members of the Catholic clergy had been dismissed under lamentable conditions. Bürckel, in his speech of 30 October 1940, sealed the doom of the Chapter of Metz, "bastion of French culture." Bishops Heintz, Schmitt and members of the Episcopal House were thrown out. Bishop Louis, who appeared on the Black List of the Gestapo, was allowed to stay at the bishopric to attend to current business. Three priests only remained in Metz.

Religious congregations of men and women met with the same fate. At Longueville-lès-Saint-Avoid, Franciscan Fathers obtained permission to remain in their convent provided they had, within eight days, cleared the property of all liabilities. Thanks to the generosity of old friends, such commitments were met immediately. Eight days later the monks were expelled, the convent was confiscated and placed at the disposal of the Minister of Labour, whose first concern was to hoist the swastika flag!

At Augny the Gestapo broke into the house of the Oblat Fathers at eleven o'clock in the evening (in the middle of winter). The policemen gathered the Fathers, went down to the kitchens with them and appropriated the food which was stored there, cold meat, ham, sausage, and devoured the lot on the spot. From here they went to the chapel and vestry, where they claimed the sacred gold and silver vases. After returning to the parlour the monks had to undergo a political inquest, after which the police seized all the documents of the convent and the till.

At last, at daybreak, they told the Fathers to take their personal belongings from their rooms (always under the watch of the police) and to get into buses which took them to the station. By contrast, the Converse Brethren were ordered to remain at the disposal of those gentlemen who settled the same day in the house! They took up the management of the estate. An agent of the Gestapo offered the profits deriving therefrom to any Converse Brother prepared to marry and settle there.

In Forbach the Labour Office commandeered the boarding-house of the Sisters of Peltre. The chapel was used as a theatre and assembly hall, statues gave way to portraits of "the great leaders," a piano superseded the altar, Nazi songs and tunes served to exercise a moral influence on passers-by and neighbours.

The famous Sainte Odile Abbey, the Saint of Alsace, was turned into an inn for the Hitler Youth, and the Father Superior of the convent, the Very Reverend Chrisostome Schmitt, had to seek refuge in the outhouses of the building. The monks were received in houses of parents and friends. In the Monastery of St. Vincent of Paul, at Stahlheim, in Lorraine, a training school for the Führers of the Hitler Youth was opened in February 1941.

Ecclesiastical property having been confiscated, the Gestapo seized in the bishopric of Metz the funds of foundation Masses and of charitable institutions of the diocese. It requisitioned bonds and cash amounting to four million francs. Naturally all Catholic organizations were suppressed, groups or associations, gymnastic societies, scouts, choir, musical societies, etc.

In Lorraine the Germans attempted to close churches. They succeeded in colonized districts, where Bessarabians, inhabitants of the Saar and Palatinate, were in majority, and the Sunday Mass was forbidden. But where Lorrainers were more numerous, open revolt broke out.

In the vicinity of Dieuze, in order to make way for a burial procession,

peasants broke with an axe the front door of the church, the access to which had been forbidden by the Nazis, who had declared: "It is possible to bury the dead without Mass."

In Château-Salins, also, the Gestapo had given the order to close the church. Abbé Goldschmitt, in his capacity of Archpriest, gained access to the vestry, broke open the main door, ordered all the bells to be set ringing and solemnly officiated in front of an enormous gathering of parishioners. He began his sermon with the following words:

"In my church I am the only master after God and my bishop." He spoke first in German, then in French. His attitude was so impressive that Bürckel, to whom Goldschmitt had sent a report, decided provisionally not to interfere with the religious question in this district.

The Germans used other methods to discourage parishioners from attending religious service. First, regarding children. At the age of fourteen they had the liberty of deciding whether or not to leave the Church.*

In this case the parents had not even the right to prevent them. And it was at fourteen that children joined the Hitler Youth, whose meetings took place on Sunday morning, precisely at the time of the service. These meetings were rendered more attractive by "invitation presentations of artistic films of great value such as *Grimm's Fairy Tales*" reminding one of *Snow White* or other similar productions.

The law foresaw that the child could not be accepted for religious instruction without a written request from its parents, a request which had to be spontaneous. It was nullified by any intervention of the priest, which was considered pressure exercised on the conscience.

In order to teach catechism, the priest had to possess three certificates: seniority, certificate of civism—that is to say, of loyalty towards the Nazi Party—and certificate of good and honest living, awarded by the local Officer of Education (*Ortschulleiter*).

The priest had no right to punish children who were absent from catechism, and similarly he was unable to delay their first Holy Communion.

As to men, to prevent them from practising their religious duties, they were requisitioned on Sunday, under pretence of "reconstruction," for labour bereft of economic value, cleaning the town, sweeping the snow, etc. . . . Every holiday granted during the week was replaced by compulsory Sunday work.

The distribution of ration-cards took place at the time of divine service, on Sunday, and whoever did not appear to claim these lost his right to the coupons.

The Ecclesiastical Tax was also a powerful means of taking people away from the Church. The diocese of Metz, for instance, was taxed four million marks, under the pretence that priests would receive their stipends. These were always paid by the Vichy Government, and in any case the confiscation of Church property would be sufficient to guarantee them.

The expenses were borne on principle by all Catholics of the diocese—in fact, only workers paid ecclesiastical taxes, which were deducted from their salaries. These deductions amounted to six marks per month, a heavy burden for a worker's budget already saddled with all kinds of taxes, duties and subscriptions. It was precisely this situation that the Nazis wished to take advantage of. The foremen were given the order to warn their workers that they would be exonerated from the church tax if they signed a written promise not to attend divine service any more.

As regards Civil Servants, still another method was applied. On the form which must be filled by all, the following questions appeared:

"Are you a Catholic?" "Since when?" "Up to when have you been a Catholic?" Office managers made it clear to their employees that their promo-

* Décret of 27 April 1941.

tion would depend on the replies given. Nearly all the Catholics of Lorraine replied "Yes," but others completed these forms as follows:

"Yes, since my christening, and with the grace of God, unto my death."

Churches were systematically neglected. The reconstruction services decided once and for all that the smallest repairs to premises should be undertaken only when all other houses and buildings had been completely redecorated, so that where, in many cases, light repairs carried out in time would have been sufficient to stop further damage, the church, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, soon became dilapidated.

Processions and bell-ringing were forbidden. No more Angelus and chimes for weddings, christenings or services. Church bells were only allowed to ring a short time for the High Mass on Sunday and for the burial of soldiers killed in action.

The hatred of the servants of the idol for the priests of God is expressed with a similar violence in the acts and speeches of the Nazis.

As soon as they arrived in Lorraine, the S.S. and the S.A. set about cutting off heads of statues of piety and tearing holy images in private houses. On the portrait of the Pope someone wrote "Idiot," and added horns to his forehead.

The Gestapo brought to the notice of the bishops that there were too many "black men" in the streets. Bürckel, in the speech he gave in Hayange, in April 1941, referred to "black Jews" and "white Jews" and charged them with an equal responsibility. On 17 November 1940 the Commissioner of Thann declared:

"The Church has manifested throughout history its total incapability. Instead of organizing charity and social life, it has only monopolized the property of others. Germany has accomplished in six years what the Church has not succeeded in doing in two thousand years. However, the New Germany does not exclude God, quite the opposite. She never ceases to thank the Lord for having sent a Saviour in the person of Adolf Hitler. Besides, the presence on the earth of the Führer and the success he has met with confirm the fact that the German people follow the right path. But never will a German worthy of that name accept the charitable principles of the Gospel. Will his honour allow him to offer the left cheek when he has been struck on the right? The accusations brought by the Church against the régime are utterly worthless. Thus the Church does not admit the principle of sterilization, but would a Catholic refuse, if need be, to be operated on for appendicitis?" [*sic*].

Under the slightest pretences, priests were accused of "a political crime" and expelled. One of them related to us the inquest he had been through:

"Accused of having abstracted the children of the parish from the influence of the Hitler Youth, I have been subjected, in front of a mayor and a lieutenant of the Gestapo, to a questioning of six hours. It had much more to do with world philosophy than with political problems.

"I asserted that, for the edification and education of Youth, it would be necessary to establish collaboration between the family, the Church and the State. 'We have no need of the Church,' was the answer I had. 'Let it get busy with old people. We form the young according to our own conceptions.'

"In a sermon, I had expressed my gratitude to the Sisters of Ribeauville for the devotion with which they educated the young. I remarked before my judges that we had formerly protected our Christian school against the activities of 'Freemasonry' regardless of nationality.

"They replied: 'Freemasons have committed the mistake of not having dealt with the Church with enough energy'!

"The police uttered in front of me insults as violent, as loathsome, against the clergy which they hate. They have only shown loyalty in one instance; they admitted that it was only with a sense of pastoral duty that I had taken up my position in these questions about youth."

In general, the Germans avoided "creating martyrs" and expulsion was the only measure taken against "Ecclesiastics", except, of course, when they some way of getting them involved in a lawsuit.

Their educational establishments were forbidden. The Sisters of Peltre had schools in almost every borough of Lorraine. They were closed like the boarding-schools of Forbach, Sarreguemines, Thionville, etc. . . .

The St. Vincent College of Metz, the Apostolic School of the Marist Fathers of Aulnoy, that of the Assumptionist Fathers of Sey, and that of the Oblat Fathers of Aligny were also closed.

A similar fate was met by the Great Seminary of Metz, the small Seminary of Montigny and the splendid College of Mitche, which was turned into a club for Nazi students.

The Germans offered some nuns the option of going on with their teaching, provided they previously attended a course of lectures on "re-education" (*Umschulung*), like the workers and managers of some concern. . . . One of them, who had accepted such proposals, had to abandon the work and was expelled to France; she summed up her experience in one sentence: "Such teaching is incompatible with my Faith"—a fact we already knew.

The Catholic Press and the Faculty of Catholic Theology in the University of Strasburg were suppressed.

To what use would have been put, in the case of a German victory, the cathedral of Strasburg, this sanctuary of religion.

Without doubt the question should be asked of that German officer who, in a Stalag in Westphalia, said to a priest from Lorraine who was a prisoner:

"Unfrock yourself! The Concordat is but a booby-trap! When tomorrow Germany will have conquered her enemies she will realize her spiritual unity; there will be no more Papacy; there will only be a people of masters, the German people, and a people of servants all the others!"

The living representation of the German God not only displays its image in the shop windows, in German homes of Alsace and Lorraine, it takes more and more the place of the crucifix. On the walls of the towns, thousands of posters show the following inscription:

"The youth of Lorraine worships Adolf Hitler. It is an honour and a blessing to be a German."

In offices, notices say:

"*Morgens, grüsse Ich den Führer.*" ("In the morning, I salute the Führer.") "*Und Abends, danke Ich den Führer.*" ("In the evening, I thank him.")

And also:

"*Der Führer gibt uns unser tägliches Brot.*" ("The Führer gives us our daily bread.")

When the master enters the classroom, the children stand at attention and, clicking their heels, raise their arms and shout:

"*Heil Hitler! Heil Lehrer!*" The prayer is ended.

At intervals, the choir of school-children must stress sacramental formulas and the creed of the New Faith.

"I believe in the Führer. I believe in Greater Germany. I believe in those in whom others have believed."

"Ich glaube an den Führer, Ich glaube an Grosse Deutschland, Ich glaube an den Glaubten!"

III

THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE SPIRIT

THE Germanic nature of the blood of Alsatians and Lorrainers is sufficient in the eyes of Germany to justify its annexation.

But beings led astray by centuries of French "domination" and "terror" must "recover" their German soul. They were aided in the process by "appropriate measures."

Most urgent matters were dealt with first: re-education of the managing staff, Civil Servants, business men, elementary-school teachers, etc. . . . Civil Servants were forced to attend, in Germany, lectures on political education for several months or weeks. The first started on 22 February 1941 at Herrenalb, in the Black Forest. Another school was opened at Carspach, in Upper Rhineland, on 9 March. Twenty-five thousand Civil Servants, according to the *Kreisleiter*, were to be re-educated there.

After leaving the Carspach school, they had to spend another six weeks in a training centre in Germany.

During their absence they were replaced by "trusted political chiefs from the Gau of Baden."*

Those among the mayors of villages who had not been dismissed had also to return to school, a fine National Socialist school, created for their benefit, near Strasburg.

Heads of industries who had escaped expulsion were subjected to similar treatment in Germany. Grouped in camps far from the great centres, they were compelled to undergo a hard programme. In the morning, reveille at six o'clock, parade to hoist the swastika flag, lecture by some speaker of the Party, communal meals. In the evening, new parade to lower the flag. They went to bed at ten o'clock and slept in dormitories.

For Civil Servants, even old ones, the programme ended in gymnastics, Nazi songs, marching in columns, singing all the while.

Workshop overseers from Lorraine were sent to a school opened by the Labour front in Bertringen Castle, near Thionville (today Diedenhofen).

Workers and clerks attended "Party training-camps," and the hours spent there were deducted from working hours paid by the farm manager at the usual figure.

Lawyers who had henceforth the responsibility of applying German laws could hardly be sent at once to Germany. They were provided in the autumn of 1940 with lecturers sent to re-educate them, to explain the foundation of German law and the functioning of juridical institutions of the Reich. An Alsatian has sent us an account of those lectures which took place regularly afterwards.

"The first speaker, Ropp, wearing the uniform of the Party, started to speak as follows:

"*'De jure* (by right) Alsace belongs to France, *de facto* (in fact) she is part of the German Reich. And as we Germans attach the greatest importance not to the form, but to the contents, we have thought it necessary to organize the machinery of German law without delay.'

* *Voelkischer Beobachter*, 30 December 1942.

"Professor Asel, of Heidelberg, exposed the principles of law:

"The Führer is the source of right. He, the greatest statesman and foremost general of all times, is enthroned above everything, upheld by four powerful pillars; the most important is the National Socialist Party, then comes a pillar the name of which I fail to remember, the third is the Army, the fourth is the State.

"All power emanates from the Führer, who transmits it to Gauleiters, and which the latter in turn transmit to sub-prefects (*Kreisleiter*), leaders of the Party for each district. Thus each Gauleiter and each *Kreisleiter* is all-powerful in his constituency. They are responsible to the Führer alone."

"On these principles, the lecturer built up, for the greater glory of the God-Führer, a theory of the right of the State which induced me to ask myself: 'Are we in a lunatic asylum?' I noticed, after the lecture, that many barristers, attorneys and magistrates had asked themselves the same question.

"The President of the regional tribunal of Karlsruhe, Hemberger, wearing the uniform of the Party, stressed the independence of the German judge. He can neither be changed nor deposed because of any one of his decisions. But naturally the Führer has the right to intervene in all proceedings and at any time. This is in no way contrary to the principle of the independence of the judge. In fact, the Führer being the source of the Law, the legislator in person, he cannot be in contradiction to the laws he himself has decreed. If he intervenes in proceedings, it is only to ensure that the judgment is passed according to the law.

"An innovation of the National Socialist régime consists in the fact that the mere will and the intention to defraud, even when they are not carried out, become punishable. In consequence, and contrary to the old penal code, any attempt is punishable in the same degree as the consummated crime, misdeed or contravention. It may even happen that the attempt will receive a more severe sanction than the act itself, because the magistrate may grant extenuating circumstances for a misdeed committed, whilst he must refuse granting them in the case of an attempt which was prompted by a strong criminal will.

"To decide the existence of an intention to defraud and of the degree of such intention, the judge must procure all the necessary data, by gathering extensive information as to the education of the person charged, the environment in which that person has lived and still lives, the people associated with, traditions, habits, political opinions, etc. . . .

"The laying down of such a dangerous theory in penal matters left us perplexed. Thus it was sufficient to invent some intention to defraud and charge a person with it to obtain a condemnation to capital punishment!

"Another German innovation as regards penal law is that the old formula *Nulla poena, sine lege* (no sanction without law) is replaced by the principle *Nullum crimen sine poena* (no crime shall remain without sanction). Consequently not only all actions foreseen by the penal code are punishable, but every action contrary to 'what the people consider wholesome and normal' (*das gesunde Volksempfinden*) as defined by the National Socialist Party. In order to discharge his duties, every magistrate must then of necessity be a member of the Party and adhere to the National Socialist ideology.

"The principle suppresses all individual liberty and opens the door to arbitrary measures. It is supplemented by a clause allowing the 'Procureurs' not to sue individuals for some offence brought to their notice, which enables him to assure impunity to individuals who are members of the Party."

In order to inspire confidence to Alsatian jurists, a *Kameradschaftlicher Abend* (social evening) was organized in the *Brasserie du Pêcheur*, in the street *Jeu des Enfants*. To the strains of a noisy band, several hours were spent in

emptying mugs of beer and conversing with German jurists, one or two of whom sat at each table to test the minds of their listeners.

It was in the teaching staff that re-education was carried out in the most radical fashion. Eighty per cent of the staff were sent to Germany and replaced by Germans from the Reich. "Elementary-school teachers have been transferred to the Baden region. In exchange, the *élite* of the Baden teachers has come to instil in Alsatian school-children the pure spirit of the "National Socialists".

The *Vöelkischer Beobachter*, after having given these precisions, added on 11 January:

"Gaertner, Minister of Public Instruction for Baden, has set up the schedule of school syllabuses. Such syllabuses consist primarily in learning the German language."

A report prepared by a group of expelled citizens is particularly illuminating on the subject:

"In Lesson No. 1 of the school books introduced in Lorraine one reads: '*Wir lernen Deutsch.*' ('We learn German.')

"Twenty-two years ago Lorraine was torn from a dismembered Germany. Foreigners became the masters of the stolen country. The German language was to be repressed by all possible means. In the schools, children hardly spoke any language but French. The French and English imagined that this state of things would go on for ever.

"Blinded by the hatred they had sworn against the New Germany, to whom work and order had restored her greatness and strength, they declared war on her. The German people was to be starved and enslaved. But the outcome proved quite different from what the enemy had imagined.

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"Young Lorrainers have this year had long holidays. From 1 October they will return to school. They will learn German and sing in German.

"The eyes shine and the heart beats faster when one says: 'We are learning German.'

Let us listen now to a young pupil from the College of Thann, in Alsace:

"A fortnight before the reopening, all pupils had to go to college to learn to march in step and salute the flag in the Hitler fashion, when the class started. On that day the flag was hoisted in front of all the German authorities in uniform. Many pupils had tears in their eyes. They did not raise their arms and did not shout *Sieg Heil!*

"Most of our masters were still Alsations and luckily the change thus appeared less severe to us. They gave us a few explanations in French, but it was compulsory to give all lessons in German. Gradually they were sent to Germany for a training which lasted about four months, and masters sent from Baden came to take their place. All of them were fanatics. In the freshly redecorated classrooms, a magnificent portrait of the Führer was put in the place of honour. At the beginning and at the end of each lesson the master was bound to salute him by raising his arm, and the pupils did the same.

"The school principal, noticing the great antipathy there was to him, above all in the senior classes, one day gathered the older pupils and

explained to them that he worked only for their good, and wished to collaborate with them. He begged of them to join the Hitler *Jugend* before being compelled to do so, and finally urged them earnestly to look upon him with less hatred, and above all to salute him.

"The headmaster himself undertook the teaching of politics. One day he was mentioning Hitler in a U5th form, and a pupil, the son of an Alsatian master from the same school, was unfortunate enough to be unable to repress a yawn. The headmaster jumped on the poor boy, knocked him down with his fist and broke two of his teeth.

"In order to determine the purity of our race, we were asked to state our genealogical tree. Often there arose great discussions between the teacher and his pupils, for what they told us was far from convincing us. In a general way, German masters had a certain pleasure in vexing us by running down France, but we always replied to them, to the extent of forgetting every form of politeness, so great was our exasperation.

"One day, a girl in the IVth form told him, 'In 1918, Germany lost the war.' The master replied, 'That is wrong. Germany did not lose the war; she was forced to sign the Armistice because France was weary of fighting and wished to stop the war.' 'But why did you sign the Armistice?' 'If we had not signed, the Allied gang would have invaded our country and looted everything; but in any case, they would not have entered it as quickly as we entered France.' The little girl replied, amidst a murmur of approbation from the class, 'That is not surprising . . . we had traitors in our midst!'

"The teacher, red with anger, and not knowing what to reply next, ended the argument by shouting: '*Aber jetzt . . . schluss!*' ('That will do!')

"In natural-history lessons, the master started by explaining that man descends from the monkey. Then, after having taught us to identify by their characteristics the various races which people Germany, we were told of what the Reich was doing for pure-blooded Germans, and that the blending of races was harmful.

"The teacher chose every opportunity to run down the Negroes. All the work of missionaries had been in vain, and it is a shame for France to have Negro soldiers and even Negro officers in her army, to have put the Negro on the same level as the Frenchman, etc. The Germans will take upon themselves to expel from France all such barbarous and inferior beings!

"In mathematics, we are neither taught to discuss or reason. We are confronted with ready-made formulas and only asked to know how to apply them. The equality of triangles is demonstrated as follows:

"Triangles are made of cardboard and their sides folded to coincide, that is all!

"A pupil took the initiative one day to demonstrate on the blackboard a theorem in the way French teachers had taught him. The German teacher, admiring such science, declared that even in the German elementary schools theorems are not demonstrated in this manner, and he began to lament on the inferiority of German teaching.

"Instead of the fine German *Lieder*, we have only to learn political and warlike songs, also hymns of hate like the following:

'We march in the land of Alsace
We fight for Adolf Hitler;
The Welche (French) front is breaking,
H.J. March! Attention! Clear the way!

'If many lives are lost
We fear neither French nor Jew.' "

Strasburg University did not reopen its gates in the autumn of 1940. But a few weeks later Professor Karl Schmidt, of the University of Bonn, was appointed rector. He made the following declaration to the Press :

"Nothing, or almost nothing, was done during the twenty-two years of the French régime to maintain the intellectual level of the University of Strasburg. It was attended almost exclusively by foreigners from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, and the teaching was second-rate.

"Scientific institutes and libraries were left in a disreputable condition."

Then the rector announced that the University of Strasburg would be re-organized, paying attention to the fact that this frontier town was destined to represent to the highest degree the German spiritual culture on the Rhine.

However, a number of students from Alsace and Lorraine, not wishing to interrupt their studies, had gone to Freiburg (Baden), and found there also hotbeds of National Socialist propaganda.

Here is the story one has brought back, after this short experience :

"We were welcomed in Freiburg like 'Germans freed from the French yoke,' Germans who were in need of undergoing a short period of training in German schools to reassume their place in the bosom of Greater Germany. The slogan became accordingly : 'Let us re-educate our brothers.'

"Every week there were compulsory lectures on elocution. Each student was expected to prepare a text chosen by himself. They did their utmost to choose passages recalling France, human freedom, and the struggle for independence. I have heard with my own ears someone read in German to the bewildered professor the account of the entry of French troops in Strasburg, and of the triumphant entry of Napoleon I in Berlin. In the end, the professor lost his temper, but his shouts were drowned by laughter and catcalls. One fact is certain. German students learnt much more French from us than we German from them. Our great pleasure was to read aloud and to comment on Italian war bulletins. The Germans were compelled to laugh with us. The news of expulsions from Lorraine which took place towards the middle of October caused very typical reactions.

"This time the enraged Lorrainers allowed their indignation to get the better of them quite openly. The German students, impressed, were also indignant, not against these measures, but against the agents who carried them out. This proved for us a magnificent opportunity for propaganda. Then an official explanation was provided :

"There is no private property. Everything belongs to the people, to the race. Individuals have only the use of it. Some of those individuals have betrayed the German people and race, that is why they have been expelled and their property been restored to the community."

"The rediscovered Kindred," then, were not easily re-educated, at least those among them who had partaken of French culture and were able to compare it with Nazi teaching.

The Germans understood it. Therefore they concentrated all their efforts on children or adolescents. In tens of thousands, under pretence of "holiday camps," and "open-air camps," children from Alsace and Lorraine were sent to Germany and German children came to spend a few weeks in Lorraine.

The creation of a Labour organization for girls enabled the authorities to send young girls from Alsace and Lorraine to the Reich.

Now, labour camps for German girls enjoy an established reputation for immorality. The basis of such reputation provides abundant matter for innumerable jokes which are evidently appreciated by young Germans.

Thus when, on 8 May 1941, Gauleiter Robert Wagner decreed the Service of Compulsory Labour in Alsace from 16 August for boys and girls from 17 to 25, there was a violent reaction throughout the country, particularly, as we shall see, among young people.

Understanding that this Labour Service was but the prelude to utilization in the Army, they fled in droves from the country. Their parents were deported by way of reprisals.

The young girls, who ran less danger in submitting than in running away, did not wish to cause any additional hardship to their parents, and suffered their fate with courage.

However, German girls had arrived in numbers in Alsace from the Reich to work in the labour camps. Early in August they had established a camp at Benfeld, near Strasburg. The plan was quite clear. The German girls would work in Alsace to Germanize it, and the Alsatian girls would go to Germany to become themselves Germanized.

This was done. The first big party of young girls left Strasburg on 3 November. It comprised 673 Alsatian girls under the command of 60 German girls who had come to take them in hand and accompany them to Saxony in the district of Dresden* and Chemnitz,† and in the Sudeten country, in the district of Zwittau.

The most heartrending scenes occurred on the departure of the 18-year-old contingent. The band of the S.A. playing on the railway platform drowned many a sob and a cry of despair, while German journalists

"admired once more the clockwork precision of the German machine which in the organization of a great undertaking is practically unsurpassed. It was impossible to do more and to do it better."‡

Parents had a thousand reasons for being anxious. Under their very eyes, the Germans were imparting the New Faith to young girls and boys, the worship of the Blood!

Germans of both sexes must sacrifice their all to the divine Blood.

Can one even talk of sacrifice when it is a question of serving the Idol? It is an honour and a joy! It is even sometimes a pleasure when it is a question of a rite called "*Begattungstag*," a word untranslatable except in Latin, *dies coiti*. Such a ceremony, or rather its preliminaries, deserve to be described in detail.

When feeling enthusiastic about the doctrine, a young girl decides to contribute to the enriching of the divine Blood, she goes to an official bureau of the Party, where she is welcomed by the cry of, "*Heil Hitler!*" the more vociferous if she is pretty. She expresses her desire to sacrifice to Greater Germany. After having passed a medical examination to prove she is physically worthy of ascending the altar of the Deity, the novice receives a series of photographs representing suitable mates in the magnificent but simple garb awarded them by nature. The sweet creature makes her choice. She leaves her name and address, and a short time afterwards receives a printed leaflet bearing in the corner an eagle clutching the swastika in its claws. The postulant is invited to go to such and such a place on a certain day (*Begattungstag*) at a certain time. There she finds the male she has chosen. Should Wotan fulfil her wishes, Hitler will pay all costs—that is to say that the child at birth is taken in charge by the State. And if some indiscreet person asks these flappers who proudly walk holding their baby by the hand, "Who is the father?" a special decree gives her the right to reply, "*Unser Führer*" ("Our Führer"). For the Führer is the incarnation of the German Volk for whom and by whom the child has been created, for the greater glory of God!

* At Bergschnebel and Geising, in the Osterzgebirge, at Schnitz, Neustad, Dittersbach in the Elbgebirge, and Koenigstein, from which General Giraud escaped.

† At Thalheim, Zwonitz, Ehrenfriedersdorf and Schleittau, in the Fichtenberggebiet.

‡ *Strassburger Neues Nachrichten*, 4 November, 1941.

In case some readers do not believe me, they are at liberty themselves to scan the text of some advertisements appearing in South German papers like the *Süddeutsche Sonntagspost* of September 1941. For instance, the following :

"I am a soldier, 21 years old, fair with blue eyes. Before sacrificing my life to the Führer, I wish to have intercourse with a German woman and leave a child who will be the heir to the glory of Germany."

Or this one again from the same paper :

"A young German girl wishes to become the mother of a child whose father would be a German soldier fighting for National Socialism."

The sacrifice, so to speak, in favour of German blood has become the more necessary because not only war but peace as well are in need of an increasing number of men for the Reich.

"After gaining the victory over the Soviet Union,"* German soldiers will defend Europe against any enemy alien to this continent. Where would be the fruits of victory if we did not outnumber our adversaries? To conclude, German mothers will after all have equal rights with combatants. German mothers who have given their sons in sufficient numbers to make the victory possible!"

And, logical to the end, after the German manner, the paper concludes :

"The birth-rate must not get lower in the course of this war than the level of the peace period."

A young girl who fails to do her duty is a traitor, exactly as the soldier who deserts his S.S. flag. "Show that you are ready, not only to lay down your life for your country, but also to make her a gift of a new life before going to your death!"

The S.S. without doubt have no objection, and it is to help them in the accomplishment of their duty that the health services of the Reich have placed at their disposal the bureau we have mentioned above!

Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, in his capacity of Reich Commissioner for the strengthening of Germanism, appealed to young girls and urged them to ease the task of the S.S.

"For pure-blooded German girls" [says this appeal] "there is a war duty which lies outside marriage, and has nothing to do with it. This duty consists in being made a mother by soldiers going to the front."

This is the teaching that was introduced in pious Alsace by the new blood-worshippers. Therefore we must believe the Red Cross nurse who took the oath and told us that in a school at Colmar, an elementary-school teacher who came from Germany, like almost all those teaching at the time in Alsace, put the following question during lessons to girls aged from 13 to 15 :

"Which one of you has already given a child to the Führer?" And noticing the bewilderment of the young girls, she shouted : "Why do you make such faces? It is an honour to give a child to the Führer!"

In a school attended by 15-year-old girls, the teacher explained the system of birth-grants given to "girl-mothers." Then she gave the pupils the following problem to solve :

* Writes *Der Schwartz Corps* on 24 July 1941 (the author no doubt was pressed for time).

"A girl aged 32 had her first illegitimate child when she was 15. How much grant did she receive? Given her age, how much interest does it represent at 32?"

At Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, girls from 15 to 16 do physical training wearing only gym. shorts, stripped to the waist and in public.

In class, little girls of 12 are taught the following song :

"He kissed my red mouth, and during that night he gave me a child !"

In Colmar, in a class of elementary-school children (aged 15), the German teacher (a woman expelled in 1918 who had returned to Alsace) declared to her pupils : "At twelve, a girl must tolerate a man's embrace, at fourteen it becomes her duty to do so !"

THE WORSHIPPERS OF THE IDOL

It was an autumn evening in Mülhausen, the assembly hall was crowded. Mothers of large families had received complimentary tickets to see a great war film. Planes roared on the screen, bombs fell on Poland and France, craters were opening on the roads, houses fell down in dust. An uncanny silence hung over the hall, when suddenly in their huts German soldiers began to play on pianos they had obviously taken away from French homes as they had done between 1914 and 1918, and as they did later in Tunisia. There was some uneasiness and noise among the audience. On the screen, an airman, a victim of a breakdown, was seen to wander from hospital to hospital. His case appeared to be incurable, when the nurse, wearing a swastika badge, suggested that the doctor should send him to Bayreuth, to a Wagner Festival.

The airman started off ; he appeared in the first row of the uniform-decorated stalls. The concert began. Little by little he yielded to the Wagnerian charm. Visions came to life before the airman's eyes. Towns were burning, convoys were shattered by shellfire, fires flared up, men crawling on the ground were being mown down by the bullets of the Stukas ; everywhere there was fighting, death, annihilation.

Our hero woke up, he came back to life, he moved as the rhythm of the picture increased. Soon he was unable to repress his eagerness, he sat up in his chair. He did not want the harmony to stop. He leaped up. Rushing outside, he ran, went up to his room, snatched his travelling-case, jumped into a train, faster, always faster. At last he was there. Stamping his feet with enthusiasm, he arrived like a bombshell in the midst of his friends, who, over there in the interval between two wholesale massacres, refreshed themselves, with the help of a grand piano hidden in the foliage, at the divine source of German music !

This was a propaganda film called *Stukas*. Neutrals were able to see it for months. The citizens of Mülhausen looked, and their eyes, at first wet with tears, were now wide open. Thus, then, the Germans would never change with their war and their music !

That had nothing to do with the real aim of the cinema show, which was to fill Alsations with the pride of being Germans and to help them in finding their true German soul again.

In order to display *Stukas* and other similar concoctions the National Socialist Travelling Film Unit went to localities where there was no projection-hall. The radio also became a worshipper of the new Idol.

On Hitler's birthday, one heard from the station *Deutschlandsender* a child's voice with a strong French accent reading the following address :

"We are proud and happy to be Germans again, and we promise to do everything for the greatness and power of Germany and of German Alsace. We shall start for Strasburg again, saying to ourselves, 'It is better to fight and die an honest death than to lose one's freedom and besmirch one's soul!'"

Thus spoke an innocent child of Alsace on 19 April 1941. Radio-Strasburg having been destroyed by the French forces in retreat, the Stuttgart, Karlsruhe and Saarbrück stations were entrusted with broadcasts destined for French Rhineland citizens.

Loudspeakers were installed in town-hall rooms or in restaurants, on the great crossroads, in public squares, etc. . . . Militarists were appointed to supervise the broadcasting of the Führer's speeches and of all Party demonstrations. This was not without cause, as it may be inferred from this criticism appearing in the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* of 5 May 1941, following one of Hitler's speeches :

"It is quite inadmissible" [wrote the paper] "that a consumer should have the audacity to give orders in a loud voice at the very moment when the Führer is speaking. It is inadmissible that a noise should be made with plates, forks and knives, and that people should change place only to have the opportunity of withdrawing their chair with a din, and of choosing precisely the time of the speech in indulging in loud cross-talking. In Mülhausen we noticed yesterday many similar cases of impertinence. We had believed up to now that the elements opposed to the reintegration of Alsace into the German Reich had long ago been expelled from the country. We should feel sorry to find out that our broad-minded benevolence has been a matter of scorn."

It was understandable, then, that a school had been founded in Graffenstaden, near Strasburg, in order "to make more familiar with broadcasting young men whose responsibility it is to supervise it."

They went so far as to enable the poor to secure wireless sets free of cost. Naturally the sets in question were only *Volksempfänger*—small ones suited to transmit local broadcasts.

The loudspeaker car reappeared in the streets of towns and villages. That dear *Lautschprechwagen* had already been in 1938 in the Ostmark (Austria), in 1939 in the Sudetenland, and in the Eastern Gaus when they were returned to the Reich.

In this manner the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* wrote such moving lines on 24 October 1940: "Well. Yes! It was already there and now we see it in France in 1940."

Theatres also were largely used to celebrate the glory of Greater Germany. Open-air theatres enjoyed a new popularity, and in village squares plays were performed, the subjects of which were *War of the Peasants*, *The History of the Sundgau*, etc. . . .

The *War of the Peasants* is the revolt of the people against feudal tyranny in Alsace in the time of the Middle Ages. A just war, a war of Socialist Germany against the "plutocrats", a holy war, the war of the Alsations against the French, these feudal tyrants of modern times!

Already in 1927 the image of the werewolf, which had formerly been used as the "totem" or rallying signal by the peasants against the lords, was used by Ernst's agents in their "Autonomist" propaganda against France. In 1940 the sign of the werewolf triumphed in the village squares.

And musical works "harmful to the interests and spirit of National Socialism" were forbidden.*

* Decree of 10 March 1941, which subjected the publication of musical works to the authorization of the Minister for Propaganda.

This initial repression of the cinema, wireless, theatre, music, the use of lectures, posters, demonstrations, the control of the Press—everything was attempted. The re-education of some 1,700,000 French people whom Germany had seized in the name of the law of the Blood necessitated an enormous amount of labour. In order to cope with it in Alsace and Lorraine, innumerable associations were created, which had made good in Germany and which were given the charming appellations of N.S., D.A.P., S.S., S.A., N.S.K.K., N.F., F.K., H.J., B.D.M., N.S.K.O.V., etc., etc.

Time was needed to set all this machinery in motion, for, excepting the handful of agents who before the war were working for Germany, there was not in Alsace and Lorraine the required staff to deal with the situation.

It had to be summoned from Germany, under the leadership of Dr. Ernst and his staff, who, together with the famous "Association of Alsatians and Lorrainers," managed from Berlin, as the Chief of the Reich Chancellery has so candidly confessed, the so-called Autonomist movement.

In Alsace, to gain time, an organization of "transition" was immediately created in July 1940. It was called "The Alsatian Help" (*Ellsässische Hilfsdienst*) and was soon superseded by regular Nazi undertakings.

Foreseeing the future, the Germans exercised the brunt of their efforts on children. After French Youth associations had been dissolved, the enlisting with the Hitler Youth was made compulsory by decree, towards the end of 1940, for children from 14 to 16.

When they enrolled in January 1941, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* declared calmly:

"The proof is made that the Alsatian Youth has been won to the National Socialist theories, since today three-quarters of the young people have enlisted in our organization, and no one has obliged them to enter. They have joined us on their own initiative; it is a fact!"

A school for the Hitler Youth was established in the cloister of St. Odile, the Alsatian sanctuary from which congregations had been expelled. Mont St. Odile became at the same time the *Nationalberg* (National Mount).

In the castle of Dachstein a school was opened* for the Deputy Führers of Alsace, whilst would-be Führers from Lorraine were sent to attend special courses of studies in Lichtenberg Castle, near Cassel.

The aim in view and the methods applied by the Hitler Youth were clearly defined by the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* for example, which, in describing† the work in the first "cultural camp" of the Hitler Youth, said:

"On Sunday morning film shows are given.‡

"The day is crammed with all kinds of educational occupations. The youth of the Upper Rhine Gaus have had as their first task to eradicate, through conscious cultural work, the last shreds of the Parisian veneer."

Young Hitler girls coming from Germany§ took charge of kindergartens, where, as we have seen, children learnt a language which their parents did not understand. It was thanks to the Hitler Youth that strenuous efforts were made to turn the young Alsatians and Lorrainers away from the Church and the family where the love for France lies, by compelling them to join meetings on Sunday or to undergo military drill and marches, and obliging them to attend in the evening lectures on "Political Education."

It was in those Hitler Youth centres, as well as in schools, that children were skillfully questioned about opinions and conditions of their parents and about

* 27 October 1941.

† 24 October 1940.

‡ To take people away from Mass.

§ (*Bund der Deutschen Mädel*) ("League of Young German Girls")—abbreviated form B.D.M.

broadcasts they used to listen to. Involuntary instruments of spying and delation, those Hitler Youth were shaped into a terrible means of disintegration of the family. In the course of such gatherings, it was a frequent occurrence to incite young girls "to offer a present to the Führer" in the shape of a child, whom the Party of the Reich promises to take in charge from birth.

The Hitler Youth organization also undertook to send the young to Germany, under pretence of attending lectures, taking a share in demonstrations, or more simply to get acquainted, thanks to a stay in camp with the "new Fatherland." While youth was thus learning to think under the jack-boot, other organizations took good care that old and young should follow the straight path.

In the first rank of these strait-jacket institutions come the "Storm Troops," the S.A., the "Brownshirts."

Hitler wore a brown shirt when he started his conquest for power. It was the Brownshirts who caused the famous riot of the Munich beer-cellar. They who attempted the blood-drenched *Putsch* of 1923. Roehm, murdered with a few thousand others, on the night of 30 June 1934, the Nazi St. Bartholomew, was their leader. The Storm Troops were the Old Guard. They were also, it seems, the living proof of the democratic character of the Party. Where are these Storm Troops about which the world has heard so much for years? They are extinct. The part they played appears today with the passing of time in all its clearness. They put in power Hitler, who had used them, first of all, to seize the Government with the consent of all the true masters of the Reich (Army chiefs, industrialists, bankers, Junkers, etc.), then to maintain themselves, in spite of the latter, and lastly to impose upon them obligatory concessions. Then, by taking the lead in the move for revenge and world conquest that others had hoped to lead themselves, Hitler gave them satisfaction, the liquidation of the S.A. Therefore, the *raison d'être* of the S.A. is the crushing of the resistance of his political adversaries.

That is why the S.A. appeared at once in Alsace and Lorraine. At a time when they were about to disappear completely in Germany, methods which were dear to Germans at the time of their splendour were reinstated, in our country.

The S.A. paraded for the first time in Strasburg on 19 September 1940, coming from Germany, from Kehl and Hanau, and Dr. Fritsch, a German, appointed *Kreisleiter* in Strasburg, delivered a speech which left no doubt in anybody's mind. The S.A. were entrusted with the crushing of every resistance. New regiments arrived from Freiburg, Offenburg, Pforzheim, and the newspapers recalled the glorious traditions of the S.A. and the most brilliant of their exploits.

"On 4 November they expelled from the Hofbrauhausfestsaal in Munich hundreds of Marxists who attempted to wreck the meeting."

He who has ears, let him hear! Then the recruiting of similar raiding-parties was proceeded with among the Alsatians.

One day an illustrious member of the Hohenzollern dynasty, Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia, arrived in Strasburg. He was accompanying Lutze, leader of the Storm Troopers. In the presence of such exalted persons, the first Storm Troop sections formed in Alsace took the oath in the Place Kleber, renamed Karl Roos Platz. It was on 24 May 1941, after one year of occupation.

After having witnessed the dissolution of all the organizations that prospered under the French rule, peasants were grouped in the Bauernschaft, the women apart in the Nationalsozialistische Frauenwerk (N.S.F.), ex-combatants in the Nationalsozialistische Kriegerbund Oberrhein (N.S.K.B.O.). When, for the first time, regional leaders of the latter were gathered on 25 April 1942, they were shown a documentary film about the tank battle before Moscow. They probably have had many times since then bitter recollections of it!

Workers' Trade Unions were dissolved, and their members compelled* to belong to the Labour Front, this unique Trade Union which secured considerable sums of money, raised through compulsory subscriptions paid by all German workers.

The Labour Front, faithful to its traditions, seized all property of the "enemies of the State," such as Lutzelstein Castle, in the Vosges, which became a sanatorium for the miners of the Saar, and generously put them at the disposal of German workers.

Let us still add clubs and organizations for sport, cultural study, art, supply, students' clubs, winter relief, Strength Through Joy, etc. Under pretence of social welfare work, each citizen, compelled to join at least one organization, was subjected to the control of all his whereabouts, and it is a miracle that Alsatians and Lorrainers succeeding in slipping through the meshes of this extensive net should have managed to create such resistance movements, whose magnificent results we intend to investigate later.

All these organizations are but branches, so to speak, of the Nazi Party and remain under its control. The admission of Alsatians and Lorrainers within the Party offered the same danger. Were they not to disrupt the sanctuary in order to practise more easily the sabotage of the whole system?

In order to prevent such danger, the only citizens accepted as members of the Party were at first former "Autonomist" leaders, the Nancy group—that is to say, the handful of traitors court-martialled in this town during the war, and as there were only a few dozen of them, political leaders were summoned from Germany.

With the help of this staff, the population was sorted out. Before being admitted to the Party, some training had to be undergone in a special preparatory organization. In Alsace it was the *Opferring* (Circle of Sacrifice), in Lorraine the *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (Community of the German Volk).

The *Opferring* was a kind of training in order to judge which individuals were worthy of entering the Party, the latter officially founded in Alsace on 22 March 1941.

In Lorraine, the sorting-out organization corresponding to the Alsatian *Opferring* was called *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (Community of the German Volk). Bürckel, faithful to the system he had formerly adopted in the Saar, requested all Lorrainers to join it under threat of expulsion. They had to sign the following declaration:

"I make a profession of faith in the Führer and the people. I ask to be admitted within the Community of the German Volk."

Lorrainers are fundamentally realistic. To sign a paper under such conditions—that is to say, under the threat of the worst sanctions—had not, they thought, the slightest importance. 500,000 out of 530,000 signed it. Bürckel was very proud of his work. It is only later, under circumstances we shall deal with in time, that he realized to what extent Lorrainers considered their adhesion null and void.

Bürckel appointed a leader of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, an old quarry-worker, Eugène Foulé, born in Kleinterruchen, a hamlet of Lorraine. Then he divided his organization into 234 local groups, having at their head the same number of leaders (*leiter*). It was understood that the *D.V.C.* was but a step to the initiation preliminary to acceptance within the Party. It nevertheless constituted "a declaration of principle of faith in the German Reich and the Führer," and the signing was exploited and heralded as a "real plebiscite."

In spite of the brilliant results of this so-called "plebiscite," Bürckel did not succeed in creating a section of the N.S. Party in Lorraine before 30 August 1942.

* 1 July 1942.

And it was because that day he had granted German nationality to young men of 21 by proclaiming them liable for military service.

According to the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 12,000 Alsatians had been included in the Party on 30 June 1942. What were the feelings of these 12,000 recruits (out of 1,000,000 inhabitants)? They were noticeable towards the end of 1942 when the famous "crisis of the Party" broke out. Wagner undertook a severe purge, and exclaimed :

"I would rather have with me ten strong lads in whom I could trust than hundreds of people in whom I have no confidence. I do not want to see them flee if, at a distance of 1,500 kilometres, a few divisions of American mercenaries start on a march. It is a question of eliminating such persons. A party numbering 50,000 members in Alsace is worth infinitely more than 200,000 men incapable of a useful intervention for want of the will to act. History has only been made up to now by a small number of resolute men, and not by majorities."

In quoting such figures as 50,000 and 200,000, Wagner only meant "proportionally." Such is the accuracy of Nazi arithmetic !

These expulsions were not sufficient to restore strength to the Party. Other members, and not the least, had to be struck out. But the reason was, as Wagner declared :*

"Because the Party has been founded only a short time. Therefore it is not surprising that even in headquarters undesirable elements should have filtered through. In the interest of Alsace, they must disappear."

Eight days later, in Mannheim, he said :

"It has become necessary to subject the members of the Party to an examination in order to see whether they are to be trusted and to be able to dismiss all those who are incapable of passing that test."

What was happening ?

In another speech, delivered by Wagner three months before, he had said :

"I shall rest no more until traitors are exterminated. The harder the sanctions, the quicker the cure ! Whoever in the Party does not share this opinion would do wisely to resign !"

In Lorraine, the disaffection was as intense as in Alsace, since, as early as 16 June 1942, the *Metzer Zeitung am Abend* wrote :

"Inclusion in the *D.V.G.* is again authorized between 18 and 22 June. Local leaders must be careful only to give their consent to candidates whose loyalty is not to be doubted, so that no demands should be made only with the purpose of disaffection which gave rise in the past to serious difficulties !"

SCHIRMECK

Soon after the arrival of the Germans in Alsace, huts surrounded with barbed wire rose at Schirmeck in the valley of the Bruche. A concentration camp was being built there.

* In Guebwiller on 14 May 1943.

After their arrest, prisoners were brought in police-lorries, and were received with boos and threats from young policemen. The hairdresser cut their hair short with clippers as is done with convicts. Even their eyebrows were shaved. Then they were taken to the quartermaster's stores. The prisoners had to wear a black coat with a large stripe across the back, the colour of which varied according to the nature of their crime: yellow for criminals, red for political prisoners, blue for homosexuals. The Jews wore also a yellow square on the chest.

After being allotted to huts, they had to undergo a few days later a medical examination. The camp doctor was a bully who insulted and beat them for the most trifling motives.

Each wooden hut contained 96 prisoners. Inside, along the walls, there were two rows of beds, in the middle three tables and benches; in a corner a washstand and a pail to be used as lavatory.

The camp was surrounded with barbed wire and ordinary wire. Prisoners were warned that whoever touched the ordinary wire would be shot on the spot like a dog.

Roll-call on parade at five o'clock in the morning, then drill for two hours on an empty stomach. Women, because there were women in this House of Death, were made to scrub, wash and knit for the Wehrmacht, in complete silence, under the supervision of jailers.

At first the men worked on the roads, shackled like beasts of burden to a roller, in three rows, nine on the right, nine on the left, nine in the middle. The rope to which they were tied was across the belly so that it cut them in two. On the seat, a *Kollaborateur* lashed this human cattle to his heart's content. Often the backs of these creatures, who had nothing human left save their names, were lacerated and bore marks of their torture for a whole week.

At 11.30 a.m. they were given a liquid known as "soup," containing a few bits of vegetables. At midday, a new roll-call, women on one side, men on the other, with barbed wire separating the two groups. There were 1,800 men and 300 women, and the drill started again for two hours, until they were exhausted. Their heads numb with fatigue, they then had to listen to a fifteen-minute speech on the beauty of the National Socialist régime, the German characteristics of Alsace, and the future in store for the Great Reich. And work was resumed till 6.30 p.m.

They were then served with a similar soup to the one they had swallowed at 11.30, with half a pound of bread that could be consumed either immediately or the next day for breakfast. Two soups made with refuse vegetables and one quarter of a pound of bread. One had to live on that and to work from five in the morning till nearly seven at night. A prisoner told us:

"Each German officer had the right to question us, to bully us, to torture us. They obviously took a great pleasure in doing so. At night, after the second soup, we were allowed to chat until we went to bed. But it was also from seven to nine that men and women were beaten with sticks; all things done wrongly, the slightest error, the least retort of the day, had been noted with care, and the jailers arrived. We had to undergo what they called 'the special disciplinary roll-call' and punishment began. The men were made to lie down naked on a bench and covered with a damp cloth, and the fiends struck them from five to twenty-five blows, according to the seriousness of the offence.

"Several prisoners became insane, and I have seen them taken howling to the lunatic asylum of Stephansfeld."

For some trifling matter, when, for instance, his plate was not spotless, a prisoner was punished with six days' imprisonment, locked in a dark cell, with

bread and water, and was forced to lie down on the ground with one blanket only.

Prisoners were often slapped. They were kicked or strangled until they were blue in the face. Another punishment in use was to make them run round the camp for half an hour or an hour. Two poor wretches fell stone-dead during one of these trials.

In the middle of the night the sentries of the camp fired in the air very near the huts, to frighten the detained men and prevent them from sleeping. Sometimes they fired at random inside the huts. In the yard, a Gestapo agent was enjoying himself, firing with his revolver behind the prisoners to terrify them.

Visits, even from near relatives, were forbidden on principle. When, exceptionally, they were authorized, they were of very short duration. It was strictly forbidden to smoke, under penalty of the most severe sanctions. Physical and moral sufferings of the prisoners were such that more than one of them prayed God to take his life. Escape was practically impossible. So far only a few isolated cases are known to have succeeded. Prisoners were glad when expulsion to Alsace brought an end to this hell!

In September 1942 prisoners were formed into detachments of workers: two in stone-quarries, one of 50 men at the Bugatti works in Molshheim, two detachments in Lingolsheim, on the railway tracks, one in Heilingenstein, and two in the copper mines of Rothau and Michelbrunn.

There were at the time 1,130 prisoners at Schirmeck, among whom numbered 130 women, under the guard of German police.

Schirmeck was but one of the means used for terrorizing the population. There were others which, if less conspicuous, were equally revolting. The Inquisition methods exercised in Schirmeck and in prisons would have been sufficient to reduce one and a half million determined men.

The technique elaborated by the Germans had been studied to act on the masses.

They started by completely isolating the country from the outside world, physically and morally. First it was forbidden to enter or leave Alsace and Lorraine, and official speakers proclaimed ceaselessly that Alsace and Lorraine would never be French again. The aim of thousands of similar declarations was not the vain satisfaction of taking a census of the conquered territory, but to imbue the population with the idea that it was useless to expect any help from outside.

That is why the silence of the Vichy Government, which never protested publicly against the annexation, was criminal. Such a protest, say misinformed people, would have been "unpolitical." Now, apart from the fact that one does not see very clearly what policy was possible, with the triumphant Germans, it was nevertheless treason to keep Alsatians and Lorrainers in doubt, and to confirm by remaining silent the assertions of enemy propagandists, according to whom France had consented to the annexation. Thus, Vichy had brought the most effective help to those who, by demoralizing Alsatians and Lorrainers, wanted to detach them from France. How many letters have we not received expressing the anxiety of these patriots! They say: "Are we really helpless?"

The moral isolation in which the Nazis desired to plunge the patriots of Alsace and Lorraine would have been complete, thanks to the silence of Vichy, had not *La France Combattante* broadcast daily from London encouragements and promises to those forsaken brothers who otherwise might have thought they had been hopelessly betrayed.

There have been Alsatians and Lorrainers who did not dare to escape from France because Nazi secret agents spread the tale that French authorities delivered the fugitives into the hands of the Germans. Vichy's silence allowed them to give foundation to such rumours.

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would have completely cut off the country from the rest of the world. And it is one of the reasons why they showed so much relentlessness in pursuing clandestine listeners-in.

In the airtight compartment which the French Rhineland had become, inhabitants were subjected to a system of alerts and hopes skilfully alternated. For uncertainty forms the basis of collective terror, which the Germans aimed at creating. No one must feel any security about the future. Statutes must be so formulated as to contain no rights upon which the mind can reassure itself, or offer any rules which might reduce uncertainty. All must feel that they are threatened, yet no one in particular. Whilst the menace itself must be sufficiently vague to leave the extent of doubt unlimited, one must know that its consequences would be terrible.

One example will illustrate such technique. It was in vain that when they first heard of the expulsions, Lorrainers and Alsations sought to fathom the rules which prompted them. The most contradictory rumours prevailed. Some said that all members of French patriotic associations would be expelled, others had heard it said that ex-French officers would be affected by the measure. Some again knew that only the Germans who had been naturalized French after 1918 would suffer this fate; some shook their heads.

"No! The blow would fall on French-speaking Lorrainers."

One case was quoted to support a theory, then someone else came forward to deny it. An old woman was crying—she had just been told that all men fit to carry arms should be sent to Germany.

The very destination of those expelled was a mystery. Some thought Poland would be their goal, others knew that France would harbour them. They were all wrong, because the only rule was that there was no rule, that there was not to be any.

However, police informers entrusted, under the seal of secrecy, reliable information to worthy Lorrainers who hastened to broadcast it. The technicians of terrorism recorded with glee the results of their stratagem and the rising of the people's temperature.

This temperature and the pulse of the man in the street were cleverly heated and quickened. Good news followed bad and heralded worse to come. These alternate phases of hope and despair shattered the stamina of the most courageous. The very rhythm with which rumours were spread was calculated so that each one should reach the ears of the most peaceful citizens—repeated through many mouths—acting as more efficient auxiliaries, of this terrorist organization, because they were, and for good reasons, the more sincere.

Thus, Alsations and Lorrainers lived for years under threats whose vagueness was the result of a plan. If the Germans, by proclaiming the annexation of the country, gave no status to the inhabitants, and reserved the possibility or right of being a citizen of the Reich, it is not through a desire for jurisdiction, but to allow all uneasiness deriving from doubt to hover over everyone.

An immense network of spies was thrown over the country. The proclamation of the annexation had given Germany—supposing she needed it—complete freedom. Thanks to the tens of thousands of immigrants who had come from beyond the Rhine, each individual became an informer, each civil servant a spy of the police. Party organization made it possible for every gesture or word to be recorded. And the system which had been so successful in the Sudetenland was put into practice. In November 1940 all localities were divided into "cells" and "blocks", each block comprising from fifteen to twenty houses, under the supervision of a *Blockleiter* (chief of the block). His mission has been clearly defined by the Germans themselves in little notices printed at regular intervals by the papers:

"He watches from thirty to forty households. He knows those whom the Party can trust, he also knows those who are panicky, chatterboxes, those

who spread false rumours, and he fights them. He helps the father and the son to join the S.A., the N.S.K.K., the N.S.F.K. . . . In a word he is the incarnation of the National Socialist principle, where general interest comes before private interest."

This means that the chief of the block seeks to know what everyone says and thinks, what radio broadcasts people listen to, when they go out or come back, when they have gone out, what relations they have, what visits they receive, when visitors arrive or leave. The reports of the chief of the block are verified and surveyed by the chief of the cell. All citizens, without exception, had their police "slip."

"Large filing-cabinets are being filled," wrote the *Köelnische Zeitung* of 22 July 1941. Little by little the municipality of Strasburg conceived an idea of the population that could be trusted. Children were used to provoke involuntary delation.

A teacher, of German nationality of course, arrived one morning in his class of juniors. "It is strange," said he, "how the London radio was jammed last night. I could understand nothing." All at once the little ones exclaimed: "Oh, m'sieu, we had the same experience. At home also we could understand nothing." Two hours later the police raided the homes of the parents of these children and took them away.

The network of spies was so dense that the police could immediately trace information supplied in the country, and in certain cases succeeded in locating the village from whence they came, which was at once put under special observation. It was thus that six inhabitants of a village of the Vosges were arrested and condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment for having "undermined the resistance of the German people", and through the same method 27 people were arrested and sent to a concentration camp in February 1941.

In factories, the most dangerous individual was the "confidence man" (*Vertrauensmann*), intermediary between the management and the staff. No change, dismissal, appointment, transfer of employees or workers could take place without the sanction of the *Vertrauensmann*. He watched over political manifestations and ascertained whether everyone was registered for the Labour Front. He ensured that the portrait of the Führer was hung in a good place. He checked everybody's subscriptions to innumerable collections.

It was thus, under pretence of being re-educated, the mind was being choked, and was being destroyed under pretence of being restored to the Volk.

Is it not the logical consequence of the Hitlerian philosophy carried out to the limits of absurdity? What rights can the individual retain when it is admitted that he belongs entirely to the Volk, which, as a "living, organic force" having a life of its own, subjected to its own laws, has no more concern for individual freedom than nature has for human suffering?

THE IMPERIAL CASTES

In integral Germany, according to the Pan-Germanists of the XIXth century, the inhabitants had to be divided into superimposed castes. Between the lowest serfs who crawl in the underworld, and the citizens who bask in the approval of the aristocracy, are ranged other beings to whom is conferred citizenship more complete according to their degree of Germanization.

This system was put into practice in Alsace and Lorraine. In annexing the country, the Germans claimed that the Treaty of Versailles having been annulled by the declaration of war by France in 1939, Alsace and Lorraine fell once again under the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Frankfurt, 1871, and as a consequence

had become German once again. But for all that the inhabitants were not declared citizens of the Reich. Their maintenance as an undefined State was not due to juridical scruples on the part of the ruling Germans. One realized this clearly when they decided to mobilize the young people. Then they did not hesitate to confer "citizenship" on them; but, during two years, in spite of innumerable proclamations affirming that "juridically also" their country was German, the Alsatians and Lorrainers did not enjoy any of the rights known to Roman law.

Immediately after the Armistice they had been subjected to a classification, those not capable of being assimilated, as we have seen, being "rejected," to use Reimer's expression—that is to say, expelled. They could not seek refuge elsewhere than in the non-occupied zone, for

"sometimes the conqueror affords to the conquered the right to stay in the strip of land where their people withdrew,"

wrote Klauss Wagner in 1905—that is to say, in territory which had "not been reserved for German colonization."* The victim had to sign, before his departure, a paper by which he pledged himself in the case of infraction to "work in a stone quarry." These expulsions constituted a preliminary classification. It was precisely in order to reserve to themselves the possibility of carrying out this analysis, namely to expel whomsoever they thought fit, that for a long time the Germans maintained their new subjects in incertitude.

A further classification took place, but in Lorraine only, in the form of the creation of an organization called "*Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft*" ("The community of German people"), to which all Lorrainers were invited to become members. Voluntarily admitted, but those who refused were deported.

"He who enters this organization does not immediately become a member of the Party. Entry into the *Volksgemeinschaft* (*D.V.G.*) constitutes a confession of principles to the German Reich and to the Führer. It establishes, like a 'plebiscite,' the acknowledgment of the 'status quo'."†

Actually the members of the Community of German people were subjected to a "special statute," as Bürckel himself says. Not only did those who enter not become members of the Party, but they enjoyed practically no rights.

As the Lorrainers demanded to know their juridical situation, Bürckel explained to them that they could receive citizenship if they fulfilled the following conditions:

- (1) To have an adequate attitude of mind. (*Gesinnungsmässige Haltung.*)
- (2) To confess Germanism.
- (3) To show activity on her behalf. (*Bekentnis und Einsatz in deutschen Sinne.*)

It was necessary above all to use only the German language, not only in public but in the bosom of the family.

The immense majority of Lorrainers categorically refused, and this state of stalemate existed until 25 August 1942. At this period the Reich decided to mobilize the young men. It was then necessary to baptize them Germans. This was the object of a decree of the Minister of the Interior of the Reich. The following received citizenship:

- (1) Men of German race of Alsace and Lorraine called to their military service in the S.S. and the army. The nationality extended to their wives and younger children.
- (2) The Alsatians and Lorrainers "recognized as Germans."

* Lange, 1892.

† *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 19 November 1941.

Besides this, subjects of both provinces could, upon demand, obtain citizenship by a special decree which could be abrogated at a moment's notice during a period of ten years. It was a provisional and conditional citizenship. As a consequence, on 29 August 1942, Bürckel decreed, in his famous declaration of Metz, in which he announced the introduction of compulsory military service in Lorraine, that the "Community of German People" was dissolved. The special statute to which its members were subjected was abrogated. Everyone *en bloc* received citizenship. It gave to those concerned the right—it even imposed the duty—of fighting for the Reich, which was the principal aim of the operation, but it did not confer all the rights of citizens of the Reich. It was partial citizenship. In particular it did not give the right to live in Lorraine.

In order to obtain it, the partial citizens had to receive a "certificate of nationality." All Lorrainers were subjected to a fresh classification. Only the politically sound received a certificate of nationality. The others were deported to the old Reich. They could appeal against this decision before a "tribunal of honour" formed by three members, of whom one must be a professional judge, the other two being nominated by the Gauleiter.

The result was that the young partial citizen was, in his capacity of citizen, sent to the Russian front; but that the members of his family, in so far that they were partial citizens, could, if they did not receive a certificate of nationality, be expelled.

And thus it was. In May 1943 it was estimated that 40,000 Lorrainers had been deported to Breslau and Wathegau because they had not been worthy of receiving integral citizenship.

These deportations took place under conditions equally as odious as the expulsions as those of three years earlier. The unfortunate people were cooped up in cattle-trucks. Amongst them were the mother of a family of five children, the youngest of whom was 13 days old, a disabled man with both legs amputated and a woman of 72 years. And at the same time, the young men of these families were being sent to the Russian front to be killed for the Reich.

Only the Lorrainers whose families were in France were deported to the non-occupied zone. "The Germans," said Velleius Paterculus, "are in the midst of the greatest savagery, the most cunning of beings (*versatissimi*)."

Another category of inhabitants of the Reich was created in Lorraine 25 February 1943, the "guest-members" of the German community. This quality could be accorded to "strangers and those without a country, if they felt themselves to be Germans and spoke the German tongue." The guest-members enjoyed various advantages, such as marriage-loans and family allocations.

In Alsace, Wagner did not create a parallel organization to the "Community of the German People," as Bürckel had done in Lorraine. He contented himself with making all the officials and those repatriated sign declarations "confessing Germanism." He then embarked upon the classification of Alsatians according to their ancestry, and their identity cards bore four different points:

- (1) Of Alsatian mother and father.
- (2) Of German father and Alsatian mother, or inversely.
- (3) Neutral (Swiss, etc.).
- (4) German mother and father.

German citizenship was then conceded to certain categories of individuals. These were firstly Alsatians of the Nanzig (Nancy) group—that is to say, the handful of Autonomist chiefs who had been condemned for high treason during the "corrupt" war by the court-martial of Nancy. Then, those Alsatians who, "under the French régime" proclaimed themselves "champions of Germanism" as well as their parents and families. Next came those engaged in the Army, the police or the S.S. and also those Alsatians admitted to the National Socialist Party.

In commenting upon these decisions, the *Vöelkischer Beobachter* declared on 30 December 1942:

"Two thousand years ago it was an honour to become a Roman citizen, it was also the best of protections. Today the right of citizenship of the Reich confers a historic rank and a personal value equally as high."

This is literally the declaration of William II at Saalburg in 1900, which we have quoted.

The paper made it follow the development based on the commentary which Reimer had made on these august words and which we have also reproduced :

"We have decided that the fact of conferring the quality of jurisdiction under the Reich constitutes a unique honour and that to obtain it one must have given proof of being a good German."

However, the greater mass of Alsatians did not enjoy even the miserable special statute conceded by Bürckel to the Lorrainers who were members of the Community of German people. After the numberless declarations of Wagner according to which "the Treaty of Versailles no longer exists" and as a consequence "before God and the world, Alsatians are Germans and remain Germans according to natural law and for ever," the inhabitants asked why they had not received German citizenship. Many of these unfortunates wished to see therein the proof that Vichy had not abandoned them and sought by their questions to obtain the confirmation of their hopes. The papers periodically made replies such as the following :^{*} "Alsace is not yet prepared for the Anschluss." This was the title of an article of which the principal themes were : "Germany does not offer her nationality to anyone. To belong to the Reich is an honour and requires sanction." "The title of citizen of the Reich will only be accorded to those who have made their interior Anschluss." "The judicial Anschluss will be only a formality, the final touch to a full development." To what extent these people were impregnated with Fichte, whom we have so abundantly cited, can be seen by the passage :

"The ratification consists in the participation in the struggle. This participation must penetrate the consciousness of the last comrade of the people."

As Fichte said : "Those who do not participate in the struggle during war cannot by decree become members of the German people." A quotation which left no doubt in the minds of the Alsatians as to the intentions of the Germans to mobilize them.

It was the organizations of the Party which undertook to judge which citizens had made their "interior Anschluss". When they estimated a subject to be worthy of entering the Party, he acquired at the same time German citizenship.

Briefly, become Nazis, otherwise you will not be even citizens. Wagner confirmed this in exposing the conditions by which the Alsatians could obtain citizenship. They were :

- (1) To have the feeling of belonging to the same race.
- (2) To be of the community of the blood.
- (3) To have the same capacity of reacting in the same way.
- (4) To be animated by the will to belong to the collectivity.†

After the introduction of compulsory military service, the question presented itself afresh. Citizenship was bestowed on those mobilized and their families. What was the situation of the others ?

In Lorraine, Bürckel, in announcing mobilization, had accorded to everyone

^{*} *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 6 June 1942.

† *Ibid.*, 3 December 1941.

German citizenship whether partial or complete. And in Alsace? On 23 September 1942, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* attempted to explain the situation :

"The conferring of German citizenship on certain groups of Alsatians has incited the other groups who do not yet enjoy this advantage to ask themselves what is their position from the legal and political point of view."

After having declared that "from the day of the armistice of 1940 France from the moral point of view could no longer wield any right in Alsace and Lorraine," the paper concluded :

"Here then is the reply to the question posed above : we other Alsatians who have not yet come under the jurisdiction of the Reich are not French. We are considered as members of the German people. We may come under German rule if we show that we are resolved to assume the duties which are incumbent upon these Germans."

In other words, the Alsatians who have not received German citizenship are nothing if not individuals who by virtue of the law of blood are the property of the Reich. They have no right, unless that of meriting it. If they do not merit it they will be deported to rediscover it in the heart of the German community.

Other categories of Alsatians received later the *civitas*. These were, on 15 January 1943, those men who received high decorations during the First World War, the seriously injured in 1914-18, the widows and orphans of Alsatians killed on the field of honour, or who died as a result of their wounds. And in March 1943 the parents of those "mobilized in both wars."

Thus was erected a social edifice which pretended to resemble the Imperial construction of Rome. But, underlined the Germans, it is not by fortune that the rungs are spaced in the new Empire. Between the German hierarchy and the ladder which led from the servile to the citizens (*humiliores* or *honestiores*—culminating in the head of the State) there is only an external analogy. In the Great Reich the most humble may traverse all the grades, for "Germany is Socialist." It was not money which stabilized the edifice of today, but an element even more nefarious : the submission of souls, the enchainment of the spirit, and servility to a doctrine.

Although the system established in Alsace and Lorraine is in a state of perpetual development, and the number of categories can increase without limit, it is not without interest to recapitulate the creations which at the commencement of 1943 were in operation in that part of France.

Under the potentates of the Party, one could distinguish :

- (1) The citizens, holders of the integral *civitas*.
- (2) The citizens enjoying complete *civitas* but provisional and conditional during ten years.
- (3) Partial citizens who could not live where they wished, and were obliged to leave their natal country.
- (4) The guest-members of the Community of the German People.
- (5) Those without rights, of an indefinite status, who waited to achieve their "interior *anschluss*" and who at any given moment were liable to be subjected to a treatment "likely to make them rediscover their German soul."

We do not consider it necessary to recall to what extent these dispositions conform to the desiderata which we have seen expressed by the Pan-Germanists of the last century.

Alsace and Lorraine were the first fields of trial for the social system upon which Imperial Germany was to have been erected.

IV

THE ENRICHMENT OF THE BLOOD

ON principle, the infusion in the racial community of the rediscovered blood must give the Empire a renewal of strength and wealth which must be felt in all countries restored to the German Reich. In fact, Alsace and Lorraine after their annexation were laid waste by merciless plunder.

Firstly there was individual looting, the victims of which were those expelled from the country. It was a kind of highway robbery carried out under official pretence by police and Gestapo agents in uniform, to whom under the Nazi régime there was no possible recourse.

But the jewels torn from women's necks, banknotes stolen from men's wallets—all this was but a preliminary offence.

The possibilities of such wholesale plunder were made greater thanks to the mark being converted to 20 francs. The mass of Civil Servants arriving from Germany snatched every article in the country they could lay their hands on, from ham to typewriters, including silk stockings and pocket-lighters, each individual having the right to send home four parcels per day, weighing one pound each. Shops were stripped of their goods with such speed that German administration had to interfere. Provided with sums of money amounting sometimes to several tens of millions of francs, emissaries were sent to other parts of France in order to restock Alsace and Lorraine.

This kind of looting-raid also had limitations. In order to go further, it was imperative to appropriate the very source of wealth of the country—factories, banks, business houses, etc. . . . The decree of 13 July 1940 gave the Germans the required juridical procedure.

It confiscated

“for the benefit of the Reich the property of the enemies of the people and of the German Reich, namely of the political parties and their organizations, of Freemasons’ lodges or similar associations, of Jews, of French people having acquired their fortune in Alsace after 11 November 1918, and of the natives of other enemy countries.”

Other chattels than “those described above” could “also be confiscated,” which meant that anything and everything could be taken.

A “trustee” undertook the management of requisitioned property.

The furniture and houses of Jews were, after requisition, disposed of by an institution specially created for the purpose—“The office for the disposal of Jewish property.” Banking accounts which were the property of “French people” and of Jews who had settled in Alsace after 1918, postal cheques and savings bank accounts were “blocked.” The furniture was sold by auction and acquired by German civil servants with marks quoted at 20 francs each. Alsatians generally abstained from taking part in such sales.

The same treatment was soon applied* to

“Alsatians and such persons who have been forbidden to live in Alsace or who, without being authorized by those responsible to do so, emigrate to France to reside permanently there, or reside in France and do not return to Alsace.”

* Decree of 15 January 1941,

Lastly, moral groups (associations, clubs of all kinds, religious communities, professional trade unions) were the victims of the same confiscation carried out by a commissioner for the freezing of assets.

Religious congregations were asked to supply a balance sheet of their incomes. Their accounts were stopped in credit establishments.

Numerous lay or religious associations were robbed to the advantage of Nazi organizations such as the Labour Front, Hitler Youth, Strength Through Joy, etc. According to Dr. Franz Schmidt, entrusted with the administration of the fortunes of societies confiscated by the Reich, there were in Alsace about 10,000 societies and groups of all kinds, economic, religious, sporting, feminine, charitable, etc. About two-thirds of them had declared their assets on 5 January 1941, and the majority had been confiscated.

Business houses were liquidated. In Lorraine, the Germans as early as 22 November 1941 had taken control of 1,270 of them.

Banks, savings banks, agricultural funds and other credit establishments were requested by the commissioner for the freezing of assets to prepare a list of all branches and to mention the amount of their assets. Their fate was quickly sealed. They were "extensively reorganized in the spring of 1941." The branches of the Bank of France in Alsace were closed. Their managers were appointed by the Chief of Civil Administration.*

Finally, banks were absorbed by the Deutsche Bank and by the banks of Baden. Savings banks met with a similar fate. In Alsace the "Chief of the German Civil Administration" completely reorganized such institutions. A first decree, published on 20 August 1940, foresaw the creation of thirteen district savings banks. The new savings banks were founded according to the principles of legislation existing in Baden. Experienced managers appointed by the German Government were appointed to take charge of them. They were also to supervise the liquidation of French savings banks.

"In Lorraine, the Chief of Civil Administration founded, by a decree dated 8 August 1940, 7 district savings banks. The German manager of the latter was empowered to liquidate the 43 French savings banks whose funds, amounting to 700 million francs, would be credited to the account of German savings banks."†

The Germans seized with still more rapacity industrial and commercial concerns. Already every industry of some standing and all the "big business" had been sapped by the systematic expulsion of the directors of great companies. Industrialists from the Bruche valley, metallurgists, manufacturers from Mülhausen, Guebwiller, Thann and Sainte Marie, and brewers from Strasburg had been expelled without having had time to undertake the slightest precautionary measures.

Other company directors had not returned after the Armistice in order to avoid being exposed to the exactions of the German police, or simply to avoid being peremptorily dismissed on the spot. Then, enterprises, deprived of their chief, were provided, not only with a trustee, but with provisional administration.‡

The provisional administrative committee was asked by the German authorities to maintain its activities and to transfer them, by all available means, to German hands.

"Provisional administrators" were most often chosen among the assistant staff of the concern—accountants, workshop supervisors, or foremen. Promoted to managership, they often proved unsuitable to carry out the duties with which

* *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 8 January, 13 August and 10 November, 1941.

† *Kölnische Zeitung*, 20 March 1941.

‡ Prerogatives and system for the appointment of Commissioners and Administrators in concerns and companies in Alsace were specified by a decree dated 6 August 1940.

they had suddenly been entrusted. Some of the worthy Alsatians endeavoured to spare the interests of their former employers, but for want of showing sufficient zeal in the eyes of the German authorities they were soon replaced by others. Some again were authentic Germans; their only desire was to take the place of Alsatians and they showed a total lack of scruples. The mandate they had received from the German administration was vague enough and at the same time extensive enough to allow of any exaction. They had the right, not only to reopen the concern of which they had assumed control, to recruit the necessary staff, and to use available stocks of raw material, but also to cash invoices and tenders. They seized the concern's assets, but took good care never to settle its liabilities.

When the rightful owner was a Jew, a so-called Frenchman of the "interior" or an Alsatian considered an enemy of the Reich because he had refused to return to the country, expropriation was imposed, in agreement with the decree of 13 July 1940.*

When it was a question of limited partnership, joint stock or limited liability companies, whose shares were held by various individuals, the operation proved slightly more elaborate. The method usually employed was the following: under pretence of proceeding with the Germanization of the firm, a general meeting was called in which matters of quorum were simply ignored. Managers who were absent, and they had full cause to be, were immediately replaced by Germans, or better still by German minions. After which the Press announced that "the Y Company" had become "the Z Gesellschaft," and that the composition of the board of directors had been modified by the appointment of a certain number of new directors. The trick was done. Some "joint stock" companies had then two boards of directors, one in the free zone, regularly appointed, the other one in Alsace, reshuffled by the German administration, entirely disregarding the rights of shareholders.

Sometimes the methods of spoliation were still more brutal. Provisional administration, without any regard for property rights, was satisfied with printing the following notice in the Press:

"In conformity with the Decree of the Chief of Civil Administration on the dissolution and undertaking of organizations, dated 31 October 1930, it is ordered as follows:

"(1) Shareholders of

"Company X
" Y
" Z

must, within two weeks following the present notice, declare at the German Labour Office all the shares they are holding.

"They must state their surname, Christian name, residence, nationality, and race, and remit against receipt their shares in the said bank.

"Refusal to comply with such decree will result in the loss of all rights attached to the shares.

"This clause applies equally to banks where such shares are deposited.

"(2) All creditors of the above-mentioned companies must notify in writing, and within the two weeks following the present notice, the credit they hold with the aforesaid companies. Non-declaration will result in the loss of such credit."

Alsatians who had left the country or had been expelled, the so-called "French from the interior," found themselves in the impossible position of making the

* The most typical instance is that of French and English insurance companies. The ex-Autonomist deputy Rosse was appointed as their liquidator, at a salary of 4,000 Reichmarks (80,000 francs) per month. Alsatian newspapers published daily large advertisements inviting persons insured with such companies to make themselves known and to sign a new policy with German insurance companies who had taken in hand the business of "enemy companies."

required declaration and effecting the requisite deposit. The "foreclosure delay" being without appeal, they were inexorably dispossessed.

Thus property belonging to "enemies of the German people" was confiscated. The "successors" of concerns "taken over" appropriated without hesitation the artistic and literary copyrights, inventors' patents, trade marks, designs, and models. In order that nothing or nobody could escape the plunder, the Germans undertook to prepare an inventory of the whole fortune of Alsace, real estate and private chattels. It was the object of a decree dated 4 April 1941.

With such a perfected technique, the results achieved were brilliant. The blast-furnaces of Lorraine were delivered to German concerns—Roehling, Hermann Goering, etc. The steel works of Rombas were requisitioned by the Friedrich Flick from Berlin, the Society of Metallurgy from Knutange by the Kloechnner, the blast-furnaces and steel foundries of Thionville by the Konzern Roehling, the ironworks and steel works of Uckange by Neunkirche Eisenwerke. The Hermann Goering Werke naturally took the lion's share; the mines and steelworks of Hayange, the former Thyssen works at Hagondange, the Wendel factories at Hayange, Moerven Roesslingen, etc. The blast-furnaces and steel works of Differdange were administered by the Vereinigte Stahlwerke of Düsseldorf, together with the works of Rodange.

Meanwhile, newspapers announced auction sales of furniture, jewels, etc., having once been the property of "enemies of the people." Thanks to such a régime, German Civil Servants filled their pockets, either with part of the proceeds of the sale of seized goods or by buying such goods themselves.

Soon there were so many scandals that the Reich was forced to intervene and decided on "repatriating" the thieves who were too clumsy or too little shielded by the "exalted circles" of Berlin.

It will be judged to what extent Civil Servants brought from Germany carried this pillage from the fact that Bürckel, Gauleiter of Lorraine, was compelled to order the sale of requisitioned furniture and chattels to come under revision. Better still, he had to forbid that "articles deposited in the museums of Lorraine should henceforth be sold to German Civil Servants, including the police." For undoubtedly the police were accomplices, the German administrators were building a fortune in plundering the museums of the country.

Now, while the "exalted Nazis" were stealing museum pieces the Vichy Government handed over to them what had been safeguarded in the free zone at the beginning of the war. The archives of Strasburg, packed up in 100 big cases, had already been sent to Périgueux on 25 October 1940. The library, the works of art, the records of Selestat sheltered in the castle of Hautefort, in Dordogne, had at the same period been restored to their proper place.

It was a more arduous task to recover the famous library of the town of Strasburg. It was only in February 1943 that the Germans succeeded in bringing it back from Alsace. The story, told in a bad-tempered tone, of all the efforts they had to make to obtain certain records deserves to be given:

"Representatives from the Catholic and Protestant churches of Périgueux have caused us a thousand difficulties. Hoepffner of Strasburg, former Dean of the Chapter of St. Thomas, who had taken refuge in Périgueux, obstinately refused for several months to part with articles committed to his charge. Finally he made up his mind to give the French Government the books of the library and the records of the Chapter of St. Thomas. The Vichy Government handed over these books and documents to Ministerial Councillor Krafft in the middle of January 1943.*

In order to complete the picture of the looting of Alsace and Lorraine, one should include also confiscations made in all the most varied spheres, from skis to copper saucers, napkins and towels in restaurants, hotel bed-sheets, bicycles

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 7 March 1943.

and accessories—without forgetting compulsory collections, with the streets barred and rounding-up of passers-by. “*Keiner entkommt*” (“None shall escape”), exclaimed the papers, proud of their discovery. One should also add fines imposed upon school-children by means of “savings-stamps.” It should be borne in mind that the credit of Alsatians had become extinct through the devaluation of the franc!

One should also remember the great sorrow of the aged inhabitants, who, suddenly expelled from their homes, had lost not only their fortunes, their houses, their pets, but also their family heirlooms, books and curios, often of little value, but to which their hearts were linked by those mysterious threads from which happiness is made.

THE LAND OF THE LORDS

“One of the chief aims of war consists in conquering new territories for colonization, forming an integral unit, and enabling peasants and workers of the victorious people to work in fresh territories.

“It is impossible to create harmonious national culture for want of a methodical plan assigning a definite place to frontiers, territories and conquered peoples.

“It is impossible also to conquer new areas without waging war either directly or indirectly; in the latter case, the stronger people terrorizes the weaker one by threatening to resume the conflict.”

KLAUSS WAGNER, *War*, 1905.

The colonization of Alsace-Lorraine is only a chapter of a vast scheme which aimed at making Germans the owners of the greater part of the European territory, from the Ukraine to the Ile-de-France, from Rostov to the gates of Paris. Each German, according to this plan prepared half a century ago, was to be made master and lord of immense estates.*

On these estates, according to Walter Darre's own words, “inferior races should be used as slaves.”

Already before the war the Third Reich had experimented with the methods of colonization it intended to apply after victory. Peasants from Baden had been awarded farms in Eastern Germany. To conclude surveys crammed with statistics, the theorists of the *Blut und Boden* (the blood and the land) had reached the conclusion that such interior colonization could not provide the German blood with enough territory to give it the strength required for future tasks.

The granting to peasants from Baden of farms in East Prussia was simply a method of experimenting for future colonization. The results were noted very carefully by the leaders of the Reich, and when to reward them for services rendered to the cause of the Party outstandingly deserving S.A. were given new farms, inquiries were conducted at regular intervals.

As late as May 1943 a competition dealing with the life of the S.A. who had become colonists was organized in East Prussia, and a native of Baden, from around Freiburg-in-Brisgau, named Koenisch, was awarded the first prize.

As soon as the Polish campaign was over, the Germans began to work out this plan in conquered territories.

To this effect a Führer for colonization was appointed. It was Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, who was given the title of “National Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism”.

Thus was realized the wish formulated in 1892 by Fritz Lang:†

“A foreign province becomes really assimilated by us the day the right of property of German individuals is forced deep into the ground. That is

* In the forbidden zone they spread to 3,000 hectares (6,000 acres). See chapter “Empire Territory.”

† *Pan-Germanism*.

why a ministry of colonization should seize upon all opportunities wasted in the past. It would be necessary to undertake with much caution but also with unshakeable determination an extensive policy of expropriation which would little by little bring back Poles, Alsatians and Lorrainers inside the Reich and put in their place the Germans in frontier posts."

As regards the Poles, such steps were carried out with the utmost vigour, as one knows, and when Frank, the Governor of the General Government of Poland, declared on 21 April 1940,

"A victorious war is not a victorious peace. A war is only decided after the war, for the struggle between two peoples for vital space cannot be decided by a campaign,"

he was just transcribing what his old master, Lang, had said.

In 1940 the turn of Alsace and Lorraine had come. They were dealt with immediately.

But when Pan-Germanists of the last century had dreamt of the German Empire of the German nation, they thought they had only to be concerned with peasants living at the time inside the Reich. These would have been granted larger estates in colonized territories, and the Germans remaining in the country would have increased their wealth, thanks to such departures. But the events of 1939 and 1940 forced them to alter their plans. For the application of the Germano-Russian agreement the Reich had to repatriate Germans who had settled for centuries, under the reign of Marie-Thérèse, Joseph II, etc., in Bessarabia and Poland. Later, following representations from the Soviet Government, Germans from the Baltic States had to be repatriated as well. On the other hand, to carry out an agreement with Mussolini, the Reich was bound to welcome also the *Volksdeutsche* from Southern Tyrol.

Under these conditions, it was natural for the new colonization territories in Alsace and Lorraine to be put at the disposal of these refugees.

The Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism had founded, in order to help him with his task, the "Fiduciary Society of German Transplantation" ("*Deutsche Umsiedlungs Treuhandgesellschaft G.M.B.*") with limited liability. In short, the *D.U.T.* It had been entrusted with the settlement of the question of transfer of property belonging to the colonists of compensations to pay them, and to conduct negotiations in this respect with foreign countries (Rumania, Italy, etc.)

It had opened its offices in Slovenia, in Lioubliana (Laibach), Maribor (Marburg), and Bled (Veldes), in Southern Tyrol, in Bozen (Bolzano), in Vienna, Bucharest, Innsbruck and in Southern Styria, in Klagenfurt. It worked in connection with the German Society of Colonization, *Deutsche Ansiedelungsgesellschaft*, which from Berlin had the task of valuing the property and agricultural implements abandoned by colonists in the country from which they had migrated and of those given to them in the country of immigration.

In 1941 the *D.U.T.* had dealt with 750,000 colonists, among whom were 250,000 landowners. It undertook to follow them after they had settled in their new territory and help them in case of difficulty. In 1942 the endeavour was to be given wider scope. But the war difficulties, in demanding a constant new supply of manpower, delayed the carrying out of such a gigantic scheme. The number of colonists transferred grew in the course of 1942 from 751,460 to 833,106 only. Among those belonging to the last contingent were 20,000 farmers from Bosnia, 2,000 from Serbia, 5,000 from occupied Soviet territories, more particularly from the neighbourhood of Leningrad. Others, lastly, were natives of Slovakia, Bulgaria and Greece.

Here are the official figures of colonists transplanted on 1 January 1943 :

Colonists coming from :

| | |
|--|---------|
| South Tyrol | 237,802 |
| Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina | 137,116 |
| Volhynia, Galicia, Narev | 134,950 |
| Dobrudja and Southern Bukovina | 77,238 |
| Estonia and Latvia | 63,832 |
| Lithuania | 50,904 |
| General Government of Poland | 30,756 |
| France | 15,353 |
| Part of Slovenia attached to Italy | 14,810 |

Individuals repatriated from European territories which are not considered "colonization territories" were also established through the care of this organization.

Alsatians and Lorrainers who had themselves escaped expulsion and deportation saw these people arrive. Sad beneficiaries of the new greatness of the Empire, torn from their century-old homes, having had to leave behind the greater part of their property, they arrived in a foreign land, amidst hostile populations. Neither the advantages nor the exhortations lavished upon them by local authorities, nor the increasing of their property, could have allayed their homesickness.

They were at first penned like cattle in various camps, in Lodz in Poland, rechristened Litzmannstadt, which served as a general marshalling centre for the whole of Europe, in Offenbourg, Ulm, etc. . . . In order to hasten their departure for promised lands, mobile marshalling committees were formed in railway trains. One of them arrived at the end of 1941 in Offenbourg, where it was shunted into a siding. There were 40 carriages on which, side by side with Runic characters, signs of the God of Thunder, emblem of the S.S., one could read a notice : "Public Office for Immigrants."

The apprentice colonists, brought from a neighbouring camp, underwent there all kinds of examinations.

The 45 Civil Servants constituting the staff of the travelling committee were fussing round them with a full array of typewriters, telephones, card-indexes, anthropomorphic particulars and measurements. Photographed, X-rayed, measured, analysed, examined in special clinical-carriages fitted for the purpose, the would-be colonists received at first, if considered suitable and worthy of it, a certificate of health and heredity.

Then their moral character was tested. Did the candidate belong to a German organization in foreign countries? Had he been the champion of Germanism? Had he fought for it? Had he acted as a militant of the Party, etc.?

Lastly came the professional classification destined to provide specialists.

Those who had successfully passed all these tests were then granted *civitas Germanica* in a luxurious carriage where they took the oath in front of a portrait of the Führer.

As to those who failed, they were sent back to the camp, where, while attending courses on political education or medical treatment, they waited for the time when they could cross the threshold of the Paradise-like colony. The others, the Germanization of whom was considered impossible, were sent to some country place or factory of the Reich as foreign workers.

Those who had been received in the bosom of the German blood-community were asked in what region of Europe they preferred to settle. The greater majority chose the East, because they were nearer to their native country or

because the prospect of remaining among French populations filled them with vague forebodings.

It was in Lorraine that German colonization was the most intense. As early as 1 February 1941 the German Trans-Ocean Information Bureau announced that "a considerable number of German peasants had already arrived to look after the cattle abandoned by French people in flight. These farmers or colonists come from the Western districts of Germany to fill the gaps made by the expulsion of German peasants in the past."

"Several thousand families" were to be "transplanted from the south of the Saar-Palatinate to villages in Lorraine, at first as managers, because the final colonization would only be accomplished after the war."*

At the end of the year, the Press mentioned that "the work of furnishing the houses had been carried out in 350 boroughs where dwellings were so miserable that it had not been possible to allot them to German farmers."†

Fifty-two million marks for "colonization" were mentioned in the budget of Lorraine for the year 1941-42.

At the beginning of 1941, Gauleiter Bürckel had appointed a committee to deal with the "re-colonization" of Lorraine.

It set about its task. Its leader was Minzemay, Labour Administrator in Ludwigshafen, and contrary to the European plans of German domination of the earth, it prepared a draft of colonization foreseeing the creation of small-holdings for forced cultivation. The reason why Lorraine had thus to deviate from the general rule is obvious. It is an industrial province where, before the war, there were a great many foreign workers. Now mines and metallurgy are among the foremost war industries, and the Great Reich must feel absolutely secure about them in order to maintain its domination over other peoples. It is therefore imperative to supply and to maintain German labour in the province. This labour must be the more plentiful because the Gau Westmark includes also the mines of the Saar. As the Nazis wish to avoid, for reasons which it is easy to fathom, the "proletarianization" of such densely populated areas, and in order to ensure cheap labour to industrialists, Bürckel and Minzemay had the idea of creating the following system of smallholdings for intensive cultivation:

(1) The density of the population must increase up to 150 inhabitants per square kilometre (it is 140 for the Reich).

(2) The numerous large estates of agricultural districts will be reorganized in order to ensure, thanks to a more extensive exploitation, the living of the greatest possible number of German peasant families.

(3) In the same agricultural districts, industrial concerns of small and medium importance will be created and employ extensive labour.

(4) The population of Lorraine will be composed of "worker-peasants."

"We shall attempt," says Bürckel, "to establish new relationship between industrial colonization and agricultural colonization."

To this effect "standard cells" were to be formed. Each one to be constituted by a small town of about 5,000 inhabitants, around which were to be grouped about ten villages of roughly 1,000 inhabitants.

Why 1,000 inhabitants per village?

"Because in the small agglomerations of 200 persons there is no possible social or cultural life. No collective existence may prosper on such ground. Small boroughs, hamlets, isolated farms, usually create an amount of individuals with odd characteristics.

"We shall only succeed in stopping the exodus from the country by offering numerous and varied occupations to young men and girls eager to know the world. Where will the young man who is anxious to get married go if he finds no congenial work on his father's farm?

* *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 May 1941.

† *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 16 November, 1941.

"We shall establish a link between industry and agriculture, in order to avoid 'proletarianization' from spreading in the country."*

Besides, workers and artisans were to enjoy the amenities of village life and live in close contact with the peasants.

"The worker-peasant is the synthesis which will enable us to secure a population deeply devoted to the soil on which it dwells.

"On arrival, each farmer 'worker-peasant' is given a plot of ground the area of which goes up to three hectares (seven acres). This ground is chosen near his residence so that he can easily reach it in the evening when he has finished his work. Later, the labourer shall have every opportunity of becoming the owner of the said plot of ground. It will only be dependent on his work and merit."†

Thus shall be realized the hope expressed in 1905 by Ernst Hasse :

"Germanization of the region around Metz where French is spoken could benefit and increase, through a well-understood rural German colonization."‡

(5) Lastly, Bürckel's plan foresaw that the land should be given by priority to soldiers of the Great War and the 1939-45 war, to war victims and victims of expropriation (drilling-grounds, etc.). Then come Germans repatriated from abroad. "The use of the land must be guaranteed to those who, through their sacrifices, have helped Germany to conquer it."§

(6) As it was impossible to wait in order to proceed with the colonization for the "combatants of the 1939-45 war" to return, and as room should be set aside for "war victims," Bürckel founded the following system :

Up to the end of hostilities, farmers who had already settled were bound to cultivate two or three allotments. After the war they would keep one only, and give up the one or two others to new postulants. The farmer already at work should only hear at the time which of the allotments he was working would become his property. The scheme forced him to treat with the same care all the land entrusted to him.

By 1942, 20 per cent of the soil which at the beginning of the year was cultivated by 2,500 families of farmers after the plan of collective exploitation would be shared between colonists. Besides, 20 per cent. of the total of farmers affected by the scheme must be at work on a plot. "After two years," wrote Bürckel on 4 May 1942, "all farmers shall have been settled."||

The choice of colonists will be based upon the two following considerations :

(1) They must be agriculturists or have the courage and ability to adapt themselves.

(2) They must be politically sound.

They arrived in droves during the year 1942 from Bucheulan, Bessarabia and particularly from the South Palatinate and Baden, where candidates were recruited by means of publicity. In the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* of 10 February one could read the following article :

"In agreement with Himmler Führer of the S.S. of the Reich, Commissioner of the Reich for the Consolidation of the German Race, the

* Article by Bürckel in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of 8 March 1942 and in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 24 April 1942.

† *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 24 April 1942.

‡ Ernst Hasse : *Die Besiedelung des deutschen Volksbodens*, Munich, 1905.

§ *Ibid.*

|| This bold declaration which obviously foresaw the end of the war in 1942 strongly recalls a speech delivered by Hitler on 8 November 1940 in which he justified his military operations by the necessity for clearing up the situation : "In order to avoid a new war in two or three years time."

opportunity is offered to farmers and peasants of Baden to take charge of a farm in Lorraine. The immigrant shall work over there at first in the capacity of farmer and receive in exchange a house, food and an appropriate grant. As soon as the levelling of the ground is finished, a transfer of ownership of the holding will take place on condition that the farmer be blameless on political, ideological and technical grounds, and that he obtains the certificate of 'neo-peasant'".

Early in 1943 the "National Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanism" ordered that German colonists from South Tyrol should be transported, by right of priority, to Lorraine, Luxemburg and the Sudetenland.

At the same time, those disabled in the present war, those from the Great War, the "champions of the National Socialist Putsch and their next of kin," received the right, under certain well-stated conditions, to secure land in Alsace and Lorraine:

"The future colonists shall at first be installed in the farms with their implements and their harvest. At the end of a period of training enabling the authorities to find out whether they possess the requisite qualities, they shall become the owners of the property."

Although we know that the number of German colonists who settled in Lorraine amounts to several tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands, we possess no statistics on the subject. But it is possible to calculate with enough precision the number of those whom Bürckel intended to settle if the trend of events had enabled him to carry out his plan, which was, at the beginning of 1942, to be operative within two years.

In fact, Bürckel wished the density of the population in Lorraine to be 150 inhabitants per square kilometre. Now the area of the country being 6,229 square kilometres, it means that about 935,000 inhabitants must live there.

There were 696,246 in 1938. On the other hand, the number of evacuees who did not return, of those expelled towards France and Poland, and of those transplanted inside the Reich, amounts at least to 400,000. Therefore, hardly 300,000 persons remained in Lorraine, at most, from the pre-war population. As Bürckel wished to provide a living there for 935,000 inhabitants, it means that at least 635,000 German colonists would have had to settle in Lorraine.

But that is not all. In industrial and northern districts where the population is dense there were many foreign workmen.*

Bürckel proposed to replace them generally by German workers. Then the same number of colonists would have been required. At least 700,000 Germans in all would have had to be transplanted to Lorraine, that is to say more than three-quarters of the pre-war population. All these colonists were not peasants or workers. In Lorraine, as well as in Alsace, there was the bulk of Civil Servants of all denominations, Gauleiter, Kreisleiter, Propagandaführer, etc.

They were the same, but with new denominations, as those who arrived in the country after 1871. They wore golden spectacles at that time and hats with feathers, that was already part of the "tourist" make-up. Today they have jackboots and peaked caps.

It was sufficient to open a directory or to scan the papers to notice that the immense majority of Alsatians and Lorrainers were dismissed and replaced by Civil Servants.

They were also much more numerous than under the French régime. For the police only, the total strength was increased fourfold. To this force was to be added the whole "Party Staff," the innumerable chiefs of organizations of all kinds, without forgetting the German teaching staff, in a proportion of 80 to 90 per cent, assistants, etc.

* There were 150,000 of these in the two provinces in 1938, the majority in Lorraine.

A reporter from the *Köelnische Zeitung* related towards the end of 1941, when he arrived in Alsace :

"Considering we were travelling on a Monday, there were several people from Baden in the train; after spending the week-end at home, they were going back to their offices.

"They work in town or country as elementary-school teachers or as our collaborators with the authorities or officials of the Party. Baden has taken in charge the tutelage and education of Alsace, whilst Lorraine has established relations with the Saar-Palatinate."

There are also Germans who have come to seize business or industrial concerns confiscated from the "enemies of the Reich" or from those persons sent for deportation "for an educational purpose." Himmler's decree, dating from the beginning of 1943, and which we have already mentioned, stipulates that the same categories of persons authorized to settle as peasants may also establish a business in the two provinces. In this case they are sent there as temporary administrators of the confiscated concerns and may ultimately obtain a "certificate of establishment," which makes them owners of the undertaking.

The Germanization of industry extends in Lorraine to the workers, in Alsace to the foremen. Here is one example : from July 1940 in the sheds of the Mülhausen railways, Germans superseded French engineers ; one of the former was called Mathes and came from East Prussia. An assistant manager called Schwetzing was born in Vienna, and from the foreman upwards the whole staff was German.

A month later the staffing organization of the Civil Administration of Alsace announced by means of the Press that it would conscript 8,000 workers ; applications had to be sent to Karlsruhe.

There were also Germans who had come from abroad and who were undergoing "political training" in the various National Socialist schools. Six hundred Germans, male and female, from South Tyrol were attending in 1941 the courses of the "School of Germanism" founded in Rouffach and destined to train local Führers and Deputy Führers.

Lastly, there are the garrisons. At first Strasburg sheltered regiments from Silesia, then infantry from Württemberg and Baden. "Today," writes the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*,* "the various arms are represented in almost equal proportions." The fact is explained by the danger coming from the enemy air forces and by the necessity of sending to the front an always greater number of infantry units.

Although less intense than in Lorraine, peasant colonization has been considerable in Alsace. The land was provided, firstly, with a zone of the Maginot Line whose works were blown up with dynamite and with the ground cleared of mines, secondly with "territory never cultivated before," and above all and thirdly, with the estates requisitioned from some 100,000 expelled Alsatians.

At first a model village of colonists was built in Markolsheim, which had suffered serious war damage.

Thus was fulfilled the wish expressed by Fritz Lang in 1892 :

"Model farms set up by the State and compulsory farmers' Trade Unions should then see that the keenness of improving gradually through scientific methods the production of the land and the breeding should not disappear. By such means, agriculture could already improve socially and a greater number of skilful farmers could be mustered for the country."†

The first colonists arrived from Southern Tyrol and above all from Bessarabia. While waiting for other model villages to be built, they were installed in camps,

* 20 May 1943.

† Fritz Lang : *Pure Germanism*, 1895.

where, instead of the paradise promised to them, they led the life of wage-earners.

The colonization programme of Alsace foresaw in fact, in accordance with the general German plan, the creation of great farms whose land, cultivated with the help of 150 tractors, was turned into immense cornfields of from 900 to 1,200 acres.*

"As early as 1942, 8,000 acres had been amalgamated and exploited again in the shape of rather extensive plots. In 1943 it was the turn of other estates. The Regional Office of Supplies of Strasburg became thus the greatest owner of real estate of South Germany."†

Under these conditions there could be no question of giving back to the Bessarabians the life of small landowners from which the evacuation of their country had taken them. They were employed as agricultural labourers.

This state of things created two causes of dissatisfaction. Firstly, the Bessarabians began to protest, and the concerts offered them by bands of the Hitler Youth playing on Sundays in the camp at Kork did not suffice to console them, and Alsatians, already infuriated by the arrival of these intruders, began to murmur that they were heading towards the "bolshevization" of their province. Were not these former neighbours and citizens of the Soviets in the act of organizing local "Sovkhozes" by means of the tractors supplied by the Germans? The latter were obliged to publish statements in the Press. It was only a question of transitory measures, rendered necessary by local circumstances and conditions.

The effect of such statements was negligible and the most alarming rumours were current in the country up to the day when the Press announced on 4 October 1943 that all was really finished and that collective labour in the war zones had been definitely abandoned, apart from a few scarce places where the land was not quite ready.

"The harvest will still be gathered in common, and partly threshed in common, but it will be the last time that the fields will be ploughed in the autumn with tractors working on a collective system."

In order to improve relations between farmers and Alsatians, the Germans organized "Bierabend," namely, socials in the evening, behind mugs of beer. Lecturers indulged in ingenious comparisons between the position of the Germans abroad and those of the border. Besides, was it not the Alsatians who, with natives of Baden, had flocked from 1804 to 1812 to Southern Ukraine, Transdnistria and Chersonèse at the call of Czar Alexander I? If Bessarabians came today to Alsace, they merely returned to their land of origin. *Heim ins Reich!* Were not Alsatians who had migrated under Marie-Thérèse to the Banat in the same position as Bessarabians who, after three months' occupation, had escaped the Soviet Hell?

We owe it to truth to state that the history of Transdnistria and Marie-Thérèse has left the Alsatians quite indifferent. Exactly the same fate occurred in Trentino when Tyrolese from the South, loaned by Mussolini, came to settle in Alsace.

* *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 April 1941.

† *Berliner Börsen Zeitung*, 3 March 1943.

V

THE REVOLT

"How many times must we repeat that we want neither to absorb what is not ours nor be loved by those who do not love us."

HITLER, 1935.

IT was a fine day in April 1941. The car of the Gauleiter Wagner had stopped in front of the Marne brewery in Strasburg. Suddenly a violent detonation rent the air, and the Gauleiter's car burst into fragments. A delayed-action bomb had exploded, but too late.

The first attempt made in France against a German leader had been perpetrated in Alsace.

For several months the Press made no reference to it, until the day when Wagner himself, exasperated by acts of sabotage which increased everywhere, confessed in a public speech that it was high time to take radical measures against the people who in Alsace carried boldness as far as to threaten the life of a representative of the Reich.

As soon as they arrived in the country, the Germans were able to ascertain that Goebbels as well as Ernst had deceived them in telling them they would be welcomed as liberators.

In villages, the shutters were closed, the streets deserted. The silence was broken only by the barking of dogs, who were the sole beings showing the presence of life. In the towns the reception was similar. An inhabitant of Metz has told us :

"It was the 17th June. Posters had incited the inhabitants to accord to soldiers of the Reich the welcome they deserved. Now there was nobody in the streets except a few Germans, and on private dwellings two or three swastika flags at the most."

From Mülhausen we received this description from an eye-witness :

"They entered the town on 18 June, towards eight o'clock in the morning. They met only a few passers-by who were going to their work and who observed, as the troops passed, an impressive silence. There was an inscription : '*Heil Hitler ! Juda Verrecke !* (Die, Judah !),' and another one on the Bank of France : '*Sie wollten uns nicht lieben lernen, so sollen sie uns fürchten lernen*' ('You did not wish to learn to love us, you must therefore learn to fear us !')"

From Altkirch, a small town of the Upper Rhine, we have a tragic testimony :

"On 21 June, the order was given to the Sub-Prefect to take down the French flag; then the following happened. The Sub-Prefect, helped by Monsieur X, deputy Mayor, and by Monsieur T., Secretary of the Sous-Prefecture, went to the balcony where the flag was hoisted. Monsieur T. took it, unfurled it, and, to show the salute of France to Alsatians, waved it several times above the balcony, then offered it to the Sub-Prefect and to Monsieur X. Both were crying and kissed the three-coloured emblem which disappeared inside the building."

In other regions of Alsace (so-called regions of the first zone) the silence with which the German troops were received is explained by the fact that the

ICI l'Alsace 1941

Chassons les boches de l'Alsace
A nous le pays de la liberté
Écrasons cette maudite race
qui nous a volé notre manger
français relevez-vous
Tommies aidez-nous
Main dans la main
Combattons côte à côte contre lui
n'accepte pas ton sort.
Comdammons à mort
Adolf Hitler et ses doriphors.

Gloire aux vainqueurs Gloire à la France
Car bientôt nous serons délivrés
Bientôt nous tiendrons notre vengeance
Depuis si longtemps désirée
Pour pouvoir chanter
comme par le passé



VIVE la FRANCE et la LIBERTÉ



Collection organised by the S.S. in the streets of Mulhaus with the slogan "Your offering will be the end of Churchill". This photograph is taken from the *Mulhauser Tageblatt* of March 1st, 1942.

inhabitants had been evacuated at the beginning of the war. Life started again, liberated prisoners of war were coming home once more. Some repatriated men arrived from France without any knowledge of the annexation. They quickly learnt about it. Listen to this young 25-years-old Alsatian, who had been liberated on 14 June as *Volksdeutsch* as he arrived in Mülhausen, his native town :

"The Boches were altering the names of streets. They occupied the Lefèvre Barracks where I had done my military service. It was now called Marshal Goering's Barracks. When I saw that it grieved me deeply,

"I saw some statues being pulled down. Then I went away.

"In the free zone, I was unable to find any work. After having managed to make a living for some time by smuggling tobacco to Belfort, I returned to Mülhausen and on 15 October I had to register with the police. On the 18th I was invited to appear in an employment bureau. I was offered a good position in Germany, one *rentenmark* per hour, with the advantages of the Todt organization. Later on I would be permitted to join the N.S.D.A.F., the S.S., etc.

"I refused without hesitation. I was called *Napoleonskopf* (Napoleon's head). I was given twenty-four hours to choose between imprisonment or a journey to Germany. I declared that I did not need the twenty-four hours to think about it, that my answer could be given immediately. But I was not sent to prison at once, I was given one day's delay.

"I took advantage of it to search the town looking for work, and provided with an engagement form given to me by a friend, I returned to the employment bureau and waved it triumphantly. Unfortunately, the ruse did not meet with much success. The Germans immediately understood what was amiss. I was arrested and taken to the S.S. office, installed in the former headquarters of the Social Democrat Party which belonged to Wallach, the ex-deputy. Then I was taken to prison in a street which bears the ironical name of 'Hope Street.'

"It was a Saturday. On Sunday evening, I wrote and sent a letter to the colonel of the S.S. in Mülhausen, in which I protested in such violent terms that the following morning the police came to handle me roughly, without saying a word. This ordeal over, I was taken to a cell where the guards, who were still Alsatians, came every day to bring me supplies.

"I was left in that cell all alone up to February. In Mülhausen there were 560 of us in prison. There was one prisoner who had wanted to go to Spain to fight at the end of 1937.

"His wife had joined him in Perpignan and had persuaded him to return to Mülhausen. He was the father of eleven children.

"Towards the middle of the month I was asked for the third time if I wished to become a member of the N.S.D.A.F., which would enable me to remain in Alsace. I refused. Three days later I was expelled.

"When I arrived at the frontier town of M. I had to sign a declaration by which I renounced all my property in Alsace. I also gave up the idea of ever returning there. At Chalon-sur-Saône we were entrusted to the care of the French *gendarmérie*. We were taken to Pau, where we were welcomed by the Prefect and the Mayor. We listened to a speech and were told by some important person that 450,000 Alsatians and Lorrainers had already passed through the hall in which we were assembled."

Such were the first reactions to German occupation. Those who had remained in the country did not yield either. The atmosphere at the end of 1940 is altogether conspicuous in this simple sentence from the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* :

"It is absurd for people to stop talking when S.A. or S.S. appear in a public square. National Socialists are human beings. They harm no one."

People in question had full reasons for being silent, for their conversation was not exactly meant to be overheard. Those S.A. and S.S. who harm no one (except for the concentration camps and the shooting) were very soon to realize it!

It was in April 1941 that the attempt we have related took place against Wagner.

The *Mülhausen Tageblatt* pictures as follows the state of mind of the people of Alsace on 1 May:

"A few Alsations have made their decision. Naturally they have been obliged to give up a number of habits and many friendships. The people they know laugh at them if they go out in the streets in National Socialist uniform. Their fellow countrymen look upon them as 'Opportunists' who try to profit from present conditions. People say that under the French rule they had never succeeded in anything and that now they have been swallowed and carried away by the current."

It is easy to imagine the sort of reception given to the S.A. when, holding a box in their hands, they appeared at crossroads, or went to ring at the house doors. One of these "eternal beggars," to use one Alsatian expression, stigmatized by the Germans, called at the house of a milliner in Strasburg. She banged the door in his face, saying: "I give nothing to riff-raff like you!" These words may be read integrally in the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* of 22 May 1941. It is hardly necessary to add that the milliner in question was arrested forthwith.

One understands the high degree of exasperation of Alsations which urges them to go to prison for the sole satisfaction of telling such people what they think of them.

14 July 1941 was the signal for all kinds of demonstrations. The citizens of Ribeauville encased the staff of the French flag in cement at the top of the town castle, surrounded it with barbed wire and removed the iron bars giving access to the top. The next day the population witnessed a ludicrous sight: the Wehrmacht endeavouring to bring down the flag with machine-gun bullets. In the Lycée of Colmar, young scholars also attempted to replace the swastika with the tricolour; they were arrested and have since disappeared. In Thann, to replace the Chardon Monument, the Germans had erected a sort of wooden emblem to remind the inhabitants of their duty towards the Winter Relief Fund. One morning this emblem was found to be covered with a chamber-pot with this notice: "*Ersatz* helmet for Hitler, offered to him for his invasion of England."

Our story does not intend to indulge in any propaganda. The facts are told by the Germans themselves. The Kreisleiter of Ribeauville delivered on 16 July in Carspach a speech in the course of which he said:

"During the French occupation, Alsations have been used to assume feelings which are not their own, instead of showing any gratitude towards the Führer who delivered them from the nameless chaos of a corrupt democracy and who, through his victory, has spared their war in their own country. They seek to ridicule the good work of German National Socialism and have already shown themselves hostile to German refugees.

"The French flags which, on 14 July, were hoisted over Kaisersberg, on the Linge Pass and on Ribeauville Castle are the proofs of manifest bad will."

A few weeks later a convoy of 450 French officers was repatriated from Germany. Crossing Alsace from Strasburg to Belfort, they were so impressed

by the demonstrations in their honour that they sent, on arriving in France, the following telegram to Marshal Pétain :

"The undersigned officers, ex-combatants of the war 1914-18, war prisoners from the Oflag, and coming home from captivity, wish to inform Marshal Pétain, chief of the French State, how impressed and moved they have been by the enthusiastic and spontaneous ovation given them on the 15th August by the population of Alsace, during their journey by train from Haguenau to Belfort, *via* Strasburg and Mülhausen. On the whole route, whether crossing the country or the towns, their train was cheered as soon as the French uniforms could be recognized. They saw thousands of women cry, men standing at attention to give them the military salute, girls sending them kisses, and shouting 'Long live France! We shall soon see you back here!'

"Their journey through Mülhausen caused a particularly moving demonstration. They stopped one hour in this town, and this enabled people to gather in force at every level-crossing and every door and window of houses lined along their route. They particularly appreciated the gesture of girls in groups of three, each of whom was wearing a blue, white or red handkerchief, thus forming the national colours.

"All the population from the north to the south of Alsace, by their words or attitude, was proving, in a courageous and heartrending fashion, their love and loyalty to France."

While Marshal Pétain received this telegram, General de Gaulle was the object of constant homage from Alsatians and Lorrainers. We do not only mean innumerable letters reaching London. In the country itself, inhabitants wrote on the walls, for German consumption, their faith in the destiny of France and in the righteousness of the policy pursued by the Chief of Free France. The Germans, for whom such inscriptions were meant, displayed their rage. For instance, on 11 June 1941 the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* wrote :

"For a certain time, defamatory and insulting inscriptions have been noticed in railway carriages against Germany or the Vichy Government.

"Ex-General de Gaulle and Mr. Roosevelt may feel particularly proud of their supporters, since most of them do not even know how to spell their names correctly. One meets inscriptions such as '*Vive Degolle!*'"

"The reason is," we could answer the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, "that Alsatians have never seen the name of the leader of Free France in writing, how should they know how to spell it?"

But one year later they learnt how to spell it. The same paper, on 21 February 1942, informs us that

"there are people who believe they carry out an action of high politics by scribbling on walls 'Long live de Gaulle,' or 'America,' 'R.A.F.,' or when they sketch the emblem of Herr de Gaulle, who, above all, seems to have forgotten that the Cross of Lorraine he uses was to serve as a 'battle ensign' against England, for there is not one French historian who has yet undertaken to prove that it was the wicked Nazis, and not the dear British, who burnt the French national saint!"

We have met authors of these *graffiti*, who, facing a thousand dangers, had escaped from the country. All their stories are equally heartrending. Let one

judge from the odyssey of a young Lorrainer who arrived in London in 1942 to enlist with General de Gaulle's army :

"Taken prisoner in June, I was immediately freed as being of German race. I then came back to Metz and began looking for work. I met a friend who exclaimed, quite surprised : 'Hallo ! Here you are ! You are still about. You must be a fifth columnist, you also !' It was thus that I was appointed with the trustees whose mission it was to confiscate the property of the 'enemies of the people.' We were under the administration of the Kommandantur. It was an amazingly illuminating observation-post.

"I spent nights sticking propaganda bills with the help of my wife, and on 14 July I tore the German swastika flag which was over the Town Hall and daubed it with Indian ink. The authorities promised a reward of 10,000 francs to whoever found the culprit.

"At the trustee's headquarters I began a long job. I prepared lists of the traitors who collaborated with the enemy, and I helped escaped prisoners to pursue their route. I procured clothes, food and money for them.

"Day after day my employment proved more unbearable. The Chief of the Gestapo arrived in the town. 'A' warned me to escape at once, for an anonymous denunciation had just been sent to unmask me.

"At night I kissed my wife, who displayed the greatest courage, and left on my bicycle. Shortly before reaching the French frontier I had to cross a lake. Unfortunately, a police dog caught sight of me, jumped on me, and bit my arm, but I managed to drown it. His master appeared and fired at me. A bullet pierced my ear. I reached the other bank and begged of a little cowherd to hide me. Soon German *gendarmes* appeared and asked him brutally : 'Did you see a wounded man escaping ?' The brave little boy answered, 'No.' They went on their way, and after remaining hidden a little longer in a small hut, I was saved.

"I attempted to explain to one of the numerous 'grouzers' of Alsace the greatness of the times in which we live.

"One of them answered that if the period was less glorious it would perfectly suffice him."

It is the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* which on 30 November 1941 reported this fine story and concluded with these words :

"It is obvious that in certain spheres one can detect signs of weariness."

The year 1941 ends in a heavier and heavier atmosphere, and when in 1942 began the great trials for "spying," treachery or Communist activities which cost the lives of scores of Alsations, there had been open warfare between the French of the Rhineland and the invaders.

ANONYMOUS LETTERS

Albert Buhl of Winzenheim, near Colmar, had procured the address of a German soldier fighting on the Russian front. He sent him a letter signed under an assumed name, in which he indulged in "highly judicious" comments on the impending defeat of Germany and the approaching victory of the Russians and their allies.

"This person was fully conscious of the criminal character of this action, which is clearly shown by the cunning used in writing and sending the said letter to a German corporal unknown to its author.

"Buhl was even bold enough to write that he also was a German soldier detained in a hospital in Alsace with a serious wound which had mutilated his hand. Unable to write in person, said he, he had asked a friend sharing his room to write it for him.

"In his letter, Buhl had given fantastic information about the situation in Alsace and had painted in very black colours the military position of the Reich.

"He had begged his correspondent to lay down his arms, to desert, to join the Soviets and not to forget to induce as many friends as possible to join him. Thus, thought Buhl, the offensive strength of the German army would be minimized and the war would soon be over."

It was in these terms that the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* told on 22 October 1942 the story of Buhl. Condemned to death, he was executed on 6 November. He had given the proof, in using the letter as a means of sabotage, of possessing a powerful imagination.

Other processes had been used for a long time by Alsatians and Lorrainers. One of them consisted in flooding not only the police or the Gestapo but administrations with a stream of imaginary denunciations and complaints of all sorts. The cleverest trick was to pretend to be a good Nazi who, through pure patriotism, wished to help the authorities in their task.

The editorial rooms of newspapers were submerged with complaints of such type, to such an extent that the Press had to protest.

"Each day" [declared, on 16 March 1941, the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*] "a stream of anonymous or signed letters reach the staff, criticizing the work of reconstruction carried out by the Germans in Alsace. Anonymous letters are destroyed, others are forwarded to the authorities who enquire to find out whether the author criticizes the German régime through a pure spirit of opposition, or whether such criticism has any foundation."

The *Mülhausen Tageblatt* made the same protests :

"We continually receive anonymous letters. It is nearly always a question of insults and calumnies so that we can only drop with loathsomeness such libels in the waste-paper basket. Even yesterday a 'genuine' Alsatian sent me a letter filled with misunderstanding and spite, and whose style displayed clearly the narrow-mindedness and grumbling typical of a low traitor to his country."

Municipal offices also were the target for concerted postal offensives.

"Some embittered minds never stop pestering the municipal authorities with demands and complaints, through pigheadedness or other motives. The Mayor is unable to examine for a hundred times affairs already settled once and for all.

"Administrative authorities cannot legally prosecute such individuals, but the Mayor will know how to discriminate between Strasburgers wishing to learn such and such legal matters from those who complain simply for the pleasure of being a nuisance. The best course to follow is not to answer unfounded claims." *

Two "anonymous letter" offensives will remain in the annals of Alsace, both of them "spring offensives," both launched against "Nazi high priests" in office.

The first one was directed in March 1942 against Eugène Rüeger, Chief of

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 16 March 1943.

the Propaganda Department. Now, Eugene Rüeger began to reply to these letters and to publish the answers in the *Mülhausen Tageblatt*, to the great merriment of the readers, who every morning could gloat over a *billet-doux* such as this :

"You invite me to drink a bottle of Alsace wine with you in the autumn of 1943. At that time, you say, you will reveal your identity to me because at that time Alsace wine will once more be French wine. I accept your invitation, because I know that you are deceiving yourself and that all sensible Alsations (I insist on the word 'sensible') are today convinced that only Adolf Hitler can win the war. I am surprised you have not yet understood it. I feel you are one of those people who every evening are glued to the London radio, which fact explains why you are misinformed. You ask me to realize what is the meaning of the entry of the U.S.A. into the war. I am perfectly well informed, and I answer you with another question : 'Do you realize the strength of Japan ?' "

The second "anonymous letter" offensive, launched in the spring of 1943 against Fritz Moraller, editor-in-chief of the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, had sensational repercussions.

Moraller had a brilliant idea. He had made up his mind to publish anonymous letters addressed to him—facsimiles, if you please, to leave no one in doubt. Here is one of them :

"Nasty Nazi High Priests ! One is bound to repeat the same thing a hundred times to you as one would to little children. Alsace has remained French. It will remain French, for the hour of deliverance is at hand ! We shall soon be free from the Nazi plague and from the scoundrels who poison us. Never will Alsace be German, for her inhabitants have French souls. They have not the slightest desire of being enlisted in a gang of murderers, rascals and thieves. If that represents the famous German culture, Bolshevism is better than National Socialism. But the hour of vengeance is coming. The Allied nations act in concert. Long live America, England, France, Russia and China !"*

Here is another one :

"We Alsations salute the defeat of the loathsome gang of the German swine in Stalingrad. Their blood has flowed in vain for Hitler, this scoundrel, this accursed hooligan, this bandit. If the dead could be brought back to life, one would do it with joy to crush their heads with blows and kill them a second time. The hour of reckoning is at hand ! We have made a note of all those we must seize in towns and villages. Then we shall have our own Blitzkrieg ! Idiots that you all are ! Hurrah for France, England, America and Russia ! Once more, Long Live France !"

Another day Moraller published the facsimile of a letter that an Alsation had imagined sending to the families whose sons had been killed on the Russian front, in which he said : "For that you have to thank the Führer ! *Heil Hitler !*"

The Nazi journalist had had his photograph published in the paper. He at once received letters enclosing his photograph cut out and hanging from the gallows. Without hesitation, Moraller reproduced it in his paper. What was his purpose ? First of all he asked his readers to give him, after seeing the facsimiles, some indications enabling him to identify the senders. But his

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 May 1943.

initiative aimed above all at frightening the well-wishers by showing them that the evil-wishers—that is to say, the non-Nazi Alsatians—were hoping for the defeat of Germany and consequently for the victory of Bolshevism. There was no other alternative, Bolshevism or Nazism! That was the conclusion he reached when, as was to be expected, he received a load of letters asking him why he went on publishing such rubbish!

"This kind of journalism is unworthy of a serious paper," a correspondent told him. "Ah! You think so," replied Moraller, and he explained his brilliant idea. "You see how Alsace is threatened with Bolshevism?"

In fact, in the letters he had published there was nothing to show they had been sent by Communists.

Moraller had printed some comments before publishing the first letter. He said:

"Its text shows very strikingly what immorality and what degeneration are endeavouring to hide behind a so-called friendship with France. We are actually in the presence of a hideous and destructive activity of Jewish Bolshevism. This spectre is leering through every line of these documents."

With the greatest condescension in the world, one can see no leering spectre in a single line of this famous letter, only the joy of Alsatians seems quite evident at the thought of the German defeat.

CLANDESTINE LISTENING-IN

Alsatians and Lorrainers probably hold the world's record for sentences passed for clandestine listening-in.

The first were pronounced on the very day after the occupation, their rhythm increased as the years passed and their severity also. Not only was it forbidden to listen to the English radio, the Swiss radio, Radio-Toulouse, but also, as the German magistrate of Colmar reminded a young man of 18, born in Dambach, in sentencing him to 13 months' solitary confinement, the musical programme of Italian stations.

This is quite outside the question, and if Alsatians and Lorrainers jeopardized their liberty or their lives, it was not to listen to *Rigoletto*, but to gather information and to broadcast it, either verbally or by means of letters and leaflets.

At the end of 1940 the Germans launched a great propaganda campaign against the English radio, "instrument of Jews and plutocrats," "a monster hissing its lying propaganda with every atom of its microphones." In Mülhausen, 2 March 1941, sandwichmen were showing the passers-by panels reproducing the text of the biggest lies of the London radio, accompanied by appropriate cartoons. Similar demonstrations took place in Metz, to the great joy of the population.

The results were contrary to those expected by the Germans, our fellow-countrymen from the Rhineland reasoning simply as follows:

"Since the Germans take so much trouble to discourage us from listening-in to the London radio, it is because they fear it. Since they say, 'It is lying all the time,' it is a proof that it divulges things they want to hide," so they switched on to the B.B.C.

Condemnations increased. At first they varied from three months to three years in a cell. Six inhabitants of a small village of the Vosges (18 April 1941)

who, under pretence of playing cards, gathered every evening to listen to the B.B.C., were sentenced on the average to one year's imprisonment.

Suzanne Kiefer having answered the Judge: "It is absolutely wrong; I have only listened to the Swiss radio, and it is an international station," the Judge replied: "An international station! Under British control. Yes!"*

A citizen of Strasburg who had listened only to the musical programmes of non-German stations was sentenced to five months.† Truly, the judges were well informed of the facts. There was only music to be heard when the culprit was caught, but the News was to follow.

Ten months' sentence to a father, aged 42, 10 months to his son, aged 20. In Oberhaskach, people had regularly taken advantage of the Sunday evening to practise clandestine listening-in.

One year's solitary confinement, one year in prison, was inflicted on the same day to two citizens of Strasburg of 24 and 31 years of age, and naturally the condemnation meant that their wireless sets were to be confiscated.

On 13 November 1941 the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* devoted a whole page to the reproduction of penalties imposed on "radio-criminals." These "criminals" came from everywhere to appear before tribunals of Colmar, Mülhausen and Strasburg, Pfalstadt, Dambach, Brumath, Saverne, etc. . . . They defended themselves as well as they could. An inhabitant of Mülhausen declared that he was anxious to gather instances of deliberate lies in order better to fight against enemy propaganda and to help his fellow-countrymen to resist it. Like St. Thomas, another wished to convince himself of the fallacy of British statements, and when this conviction was firmly established in his mind he ceased listening-in. The proof of his good faith lay in the fact that he had never broadcast the information he had thus acquired. All in vain, he was sentenced to 18 months.

The most humorous of defences was undoubtedly that of a citizen of Strasburg:

"Yes, I listened to the B.B.C. and broadcast its information, but simply to demonstrate how stupid it is. I even opened wide my windows, it is true, but in order that my neighbours could realize that English people are liars." Eighteen months' imprisonment resulted.

In Lorraine, Bürckel, as usual, was showing the iron hand. Condemnations were followed by confiscation, not only of the receiver, but of the property of delinquents, who, as soon as the sentence had been served, were expelled *manu militari* to France in 1941 and later on to the Reich.

All this was of no avail, and Bürckel, after many an enraged speech, had the following proclamation posted on 30 November 1941 and printed in the local papers published in the towns of Lorraine:

"In spite of the interdiction, several Lorrainers have listened to enemy broadcasts and circularized their programmes. Information has not only been broadcast verbally, but by means of letters, even leaflets. When the culprits were members of the Community of German People, I immediately expelled them from this organization. As to those guilty of such crimes, but who are not members of this organization, I am not concerned about them, since they do not enjoy the privilege of my protection."

All these remonstrations were vain. The "perturbed minds" ("*Nerwirrte Seelen*"), as they were called by Adolf Schmitt, chief propagandist in Alsace, were obdurate in their errors, and he complained: "We were lenient at first. We allowed people to listen to 88 European stations, which ought to have satisfied the majority of tastes, but in spite of that, there are people who think that those 88 stations are not sufficient and prefer to listen only to the for-

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 22 May 1941.

† *Ibid.*, 5 September 1941.

bidden ones, although each radio receiver is provided with a little indicator showing the names of forbidden stations.”*

What Adolf Schmitt did not say was that every day the police found in the streets little red discs on which Alsatians had written: “We shall listen-in, in any case.”

On 1 December 1941 it was made compulsory, in order to keep a radio-receiver, to obtain an authorization from the post-office authorities, but this did not in any appreciable way slow down the rhythm of condemnations. Clandestine listeners-in seemed to multiply as the penalties inflicted on them grew more severe.

New victims were sentenced to from two to ten years’ imprisonment. “All such people stand in the rearguard of enemy propaganda and shall be dealt with accordingly,” exclaimed the *Mülhausen Tageblatt*.

Three weeks had not elapsed when a sentence of 15 months’ hard labour was passed on a citizen of Mülhausen, and eight months’ imprisonment on a mother of four children. The judge refused to believe that she had merely listened to a musical programme. “Besides,” he said, “if there is any truth in what you say, you have deserved the same penalty”!

Then the Gauleiter once more gave vent to his rage, in a speech delivered in Strasburg, 21 June 1942:

“People who listen to foreign radio and other criminals of the same type are in for a very bad time” [he exclaimed]. “Penalties imposed in the course of the past months in Alsace and those which will be imposed in future for contempt of the law should bring back to better feelings the most hardened persons. When a people has no more respect for law as in France, it irremediably perishes. But neither Germany nor Alsace has any desire to succumb!”

As to Victor Batte from Saarbrücken, aged 32, who not merely confessed to having listened-in to London, but to being an enemy of the Reich, he was sentenced to 15 months’ hard labour, confiscation of his property and expulsion. It was clear that he wished, through confessing his crime, to be classified as “not susceptible to re-education” and expelled to France. We do not know whether his wishes were fulfilled.

Early in October 1942 the situation can be clearly understood through the following lines from the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*:

“In the smallest villages of Alsace, in the remotest hamlets, the population has been informed of the sentences passed and published against ‘criminal listeners-in.’ The population has been warned and put on guard in several instances.

“After the entry of German troops in Alsace, it was urgent to prevent this lying enemy propaganda from having any means of using the radio for such ends. In the beginning, penalties imposed on culprits were not very severe. Later on it was necessary to impose much heavier ones. Those who still think they can listen-in to the enemy news bulletins must expect to be punished with the utmost severity.”

The position is judged to be so serious that “radio criminals” are to be excluded from the amnesty, by which at the end of 1942 the Germans endeavoured to quieten the minds of the people.

If they manifested such fierceness against “clandestine listening-in” it was not so much because the Alsatians and Lorrainers sought information they hoped for. It was because this “clandestine listening-in” served as a foundation

* 8 March 1942.

and substance for underground resistance groups. In several instances Wagner and Bürckel alluded to leaflets prepared thanks to information obtained through the radio. Still more to be dreaded were messages broadcast in code through the same agent. The Germans, in mercilessly hunting down offenders, in throwing them in prison, hoped to crush or deprive of their leaders secret organizations from Alsace and Lorraine, whose exploits constitute one of the most glorious pages of the annals of our Rhineland provinces, whose geographical position and linguistic peculiarities have enabled them to play a foremost part in the struggle against the enemy.

SMUGGLERS OF MEN

It was thanks to Alsatians and Lorrainers that thousands of French war prisoners succeeded in escaping.

One of them became quite famous later on. It was General Giraud.

"There was no need" [he told us] "to take very great precautions. I listened to conversations and realized very quickly that I could go about without fear. (Of course, I had no moustache at that time.) Alsatians were ready, in order to help a prisoner, not only to give him their money, but to risk their lives. Even without having been helped by any resistance organization, without knowing anyone in the country, I could have crossed Alsace without any mishap."

The story told by General Giraud confirms a thousand other testimonies, and in the first instance that of the enemy.

It is enough to glean in papers published in Alsace and Lorraine testimonies of civic virtue and heroism unwillingly awarded by the enemy to those whom he claims to be his brothers; workers, peasants, industrialists, doctors, business men, lawyers, young and old men, women and young girls, all are in the list of honour.

Firstly they came in contact with prisoners by bringing them in, in spite of the gravest threats, supplies and tobacco.

Three citizens of Still met two escaped French prisoners. They welcomed them, offered them a good meal, and took them to the other side of the Vosges. Unfortunately they met a *gendarme* in the forest and were each sentenced to seven months' imprisonment.*

A young girl of 20, from Bourzwiller, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for having helped in the escape of French war prisoners and set them on the way to the Donon.†

A workman from the Bruche valley sheltered three French prisoners of war and showed them the way; six months' imprisonment.‡

This workman and this young girl knew, however, that it was enough to show the slightest charity towards prisoners to be cast in prison. Throwing bread to Frenchmen working on a railway track cost six weeks' imprisonment to Louise S.

Under these conditions, there was nothing strange in a Bertschwiller woman who sent parcels and letters to Polish prisoners of war being sentenced to one year's imprisonment, the more so because she admitted she was preparing to provide them with clothes to help them to escape.

In the beginning, when dealing with the "clandestine listening-in," Tribunals seemed inclined to leniency. Georgina E., a girl from Mülhausen, aged 22, had gone to Bourzwiller on 25 August 1940 to meet a French prisoner of war, non-commissioned officer in the Medical Corps, whom she had met a few months

* *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 February 1941.

† 3 April 1941.

‡ 17 April 1941.

before at her grandmother's house, and was only sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The name of the N.C.O. was Pierre Balmer. He explained to her that he was about to leave the camp with two friends and asked her to guide them through the town. The girl consented, and in this way helped three prisoners to escape.* Early in May 1941 the Germans already adopted a more threatening tone.

The chief magistrate of Strasburg declared new sanctions were to be taken against the inhabitants of Haguenau :

"Henceforth, the slightest infraction of the decree concerning the relations of the population with prisoners of war will have the most serious consequences."

And the papers published solemn warnings.

In fact, sentences passed became very heavy and soon the Press campaign seemed to have been answered in a satisfactory fashion by 6 September 1941. "Following severe sentences lately passed by the Tribunals, there has been a noticeable decrease in contraventions to orders forbidding any intercourse with prisoners of war."

The Germans rejoiced too soon. If condemnations decreased, it was because the Alsatians had decided to use caution. The Gestapo, as far as it was concerned, could not help noticing that unusual happenings were taking place, and circularized a notice as follows :

"It has been brought to our notice, for some time past, that road maps are being sold in stalls, stationers and bookstalls to escaped prisoners.

"It is obvious that, by this, their escape is made easier. The duty of every shopkeeper is to observe his customers very closely, and if need be to request them to show their identity card. A conscientious shopkeeper who feels suspicious should refuse to sell any road maps. Thus he will prevent the escape of prisoners or at least make it more difficult for them to succeed. Sometimes he may even help in the arrest of such fugitives."

No one had any illusions about the result of this announcement, although, following the purge of the shops, many Germans were standing behind the counters where the nefarious maps were on sale. On 10 October 1941, a new official order was issued :

"Often, French war prisoners, for the greater part, succeeded in escaping by hiding in railway compartments or crossing the border on foot, during the night or thanks to other circumstances. In many instances, such plans of escape were successful because the prisoners had accomplices among the foreign workers who supplied them with civilian clothes, German money and food.

"Whoever comes to the aid of the authorities in capturing escaped war prisoners, whatever their nationality, will be paid a reward in cash."

Not a single case has been brought to notice of Alsatians having received money in this way. Quite to the contrary, the number of people convicted for helping prisoners of war went on increasing.

The year 1942 began inauspiciously. A young girl of 17 was imprisoned for three months for correspondence with a prisoner. Alsace was a veritable colander.

The first condemnations to death for aid to prisoners date from the beginning of 1942. A public warning, 30 April, declared :

* *Mülhausen Tageblatt*, 28 March 1941.

"Each day one may read of condemnations pronounced against persons who have been familiar with prisoners of war, or who have assisted them to escape. The condemnations are generally very severe and even the death penalty is inflicted.

"Those concerned must not be surprised at the severity of the Tribunals. Really, the public has been warned. A German woman who has relations with a prisoner of war (whatever his nationality) is not only a person without honour, but also a public danger. It is only just that she should be imprisoned for at least until the termination of war. Others who aid a prisoner to escape must remind themselves that they risk their heads, whatever may be the motive of their action. Those who assist prisoners of war by providing them with clothing or food run the same risk. Extenuating circumstances are not admissible."

These menaces of death remained without effect, and on 1 June the special Tribunal of Lorraine at Metz condemned Karl Fester of Moevern to 10 years' imprisonment "for having, despite all warnings, assisted from July 1941 to March 1942 persons, including prisoners of war, to pass the frontier between Alsace and the non-occupied zone."

Five people, among whom were three women, were condemned on 30 July to six months' imprisonment for having aided escaped French prisoners of war, sheltered them and given them food and clothing.

Margarete Grontzinger, of Munwiller, must thank the Germans if they inflicted upon her, on 1 August 1942, a year of forced labour; it was because they watched over her future. She had had relations with a Polish prisoner of war who had promised to marry her. "But," said the judge, "such promises coming from a prisoner of war, in particular Polish or Russian, must not be taken seriously." It had been emphasized that the Slavs had a bad reputation with the Germans.

The year 1942 closed in a heavy atmosphere. The condemnations were increasingly numerous and serious. The Alsatians, despite the surveillance of the police, of *Blockleiters* and the Gestapo, succeeded in creating organizations devoted to evasion.

1943 dawned with a ghastly trial. On 29 January, five accused, amongst whom were two women, were condemned to death and six others to forced labour. It originated with an affair which began in the spring of 1942. Some young girls of the Catholic bourgeoisie of the Lower Rhine had set on foot an organization having as its aim the assisting of prisoners of war to escape. One of these young girls who had accompanied across the Vosges to the environs of Nancy a group of fugitives for whose security she was responsible fell asleep, owing to fatigue, in the return train. She had in this way passed the station where she should have alighted to evade the police. She was met at her arrival, questioned, and accompanied to her home, where, by tragic accident, all the names of those affiliated with the organization were discovered.

After six months of examination and prison the verdict was pronounced. The five accused, including the two women, were condemned to death: Lucienne Welschinger, 31 years old, Paul Widman, 39, Antoine Krommenecker, 32, Albert Hott, 35, Maria Gross, 43, this latter of Wissemburg, the rest from Strasburg. The six others were condemned to six years of forced labour.

The tribunal justified the severe sentence on the grounds that the accused had acted, not from a sentiment of pity towards the prisoners, but to manifest their hostile feelings towards Germany.

Such a verdict affecting accused people of high morality and women of the best Alsatian society produced a terrible impression in a country where terror knew no limits after the mobilization of the young men in the German Army.

A month later another big trial took place at Colmar, and again Alsatians, members of secret organizations, were victims. The *Strassburger Neueste Nach-*

richten 26 February 1943, gave, an account of the trial, from which we select the following passages :

"This affair has shown in a startling manner the danger of secret organizations created in Alsace to facilitate the passage of escaped French prisoners of war. The principal agents of these organizations were natives of Colmar and Mülhausen. They had more or less intimate relations with other individuals. One saw on the bench of infamy typical representatives of this minority of incorrigibles who think they can violate the law with impunity. A small number of women were also there.

"Maria Russman, 43 years old, and Johanna Wust, 36, have both been condemned to three years and six months' penal servitude. It is the maximum of penalties which have been inflicted at Colmar. These two women lent assistance to escaped French prisoners of war.

"Three years' hard labour were inflicted on Antoinette Scandella, 20 years old, a veritable stray sheep and smuggler of men. This woman charged five marks per prisoner escaped from Alsace (100 francs ! And the Germans thought to dishonour this heroine in recounting such rubbish !) She confessed to having thus assisted the clandestine passage of 49 people, including prisoners of war and Alsatians called to military service.

"Ernst Brenkmann, aged 43, and his wife were condemned respectively to three and two years forced labour. They acted together to shelter and feed escaped French prisoners of war. They then entrusted them to rest centres and intermediate stages. Fourteen other accused were condemned to penalties from one to two and a half years' hard labour."

An Alsatian made famous by the number of escaped whom he had assisted in crossing the dangerous regions was Paul Koepfler. One evening, Wednesday, 31 March 1943, a small car drew up outside the Séguin Café. Four men got out and entered the café. Paul Koepfler was engaged in dining with a few friends. The four men approached and levelled their revolvers. Hands up ! All obeyed with the exception of Paul Koepfler, who, knowing himself to be particularly sought by the Gestapo, attempted to escape. The brute who had aimed, fired. Grievously wounded, Koepfler succeeded in gaining the street, but there the Germans finally killed him. With a kick they turned over the body to assure themselves of his death and holding at bay with their revolvers the advancing crowd, departed for Arbois.

During the tragedy, the famous state police of Laval were courageously shut up double-locked in the station which stands ten yards from the Séguin Café.

Paul Koepfler was a young Alsatian of 22 years, known everywhere for his bravery. Under the noses of the Germans for two years he had helped to pass the demarcation lines Alsatians who fled from enrolment in the armies of Hitler or civilians who wished to cross into the forbidden zone. Thousands of prisoners have been able, thanks to him, to rejoin their families. Thousands of Alsatians have been able to reach the non-occupied zone, and from there North Africa. Thus the Germans swore a growing hatred towards him. A price was put on his head. One day he was arrested at Besançon. After attempted suicide, he escaped during the night, crossed on foot and in a single stage the 45 miles which separated him from the line of demarcation and Poligny, and arrived there exhausted, almost dying. Tended with devotion, he recovered, but his broken vocal cords prevented him from ever speaking normally. Despite all prudent advice, he again took up his dangerous livelihood.

How many times after the occupation of the so-called free zone was he advised to go into hiding. Impervious to danger, he continued as usual. This was his undoing. Tempted by the substantial reward offered by the Germans, traitors denounced him to the Gestapo, and Paul Koepfler fell beneath the bullets of assassins, victim of French traitors. He died for France.

The police succeeded by its worthy and firm attitude in obtaining from the Germans the restitution of the mutilated corpse of Paul Koepfler. More than 4,000 people, that is to say the entire population of Poligny, insisted on accompanying Paul Koepfler to his last resting-place. All the shops, factories and restaurants were closed.

The coffin disappeared under a profusion of flowers. A subscription destined to assist the family of the deceased reached in a few hours a total which had never previously been reached at Poligny.

From the richest to the poorest, everyone had insisted upon participating in this tribute to the memory of a hero whose memory France will preserve.

Let us pause and pay homage to the memory of Lucien and Anna Rochmer, who, proprietors of the Stock Exchange Hotel at Mülhausen, were condemned to death for "having clandestinely assisted into France a large number of prisoners, especially prisoners of war."*

In Lorraine the sombre list is no shorter, and if we quote the condemnations from 30 months to six years' hard labour for two men and three women, it is because of the factors which accompany this sentence.

They declared in effect:

"The prisoners of war, and in particular the French, are treated in Germany better than in any other country, and better than during any other war. All occasions are utilized to ameliorate their position and all consideration on their behalf is made."

There was a time when, according to a celebrated saying, "there were judges in Berlin." This is past history. Today judges in Germany do not blush to make judgements that will provoke the indignation of the world. Thousands of prisoners escaped from Germany are there to attest to the régime of which they have been victims. It is the collaborationist papers themselves where one finds the report: "I have seen prisoners fight for a crust of bread which the guards threw them laughingly through the barbed wire."

How many Alsatians, how many Lorrainers, have paid with their lives, by the bullets of the firing squad, the executioner's axe, or by the tortures of the concentration camp, for the liberty of prisoners, the happiness of thousands of Parisian, Breton, Norman or Savoy families? The escaped have regained their homes, their wives, fiancées and mothers. And many amongst them do not even know how dearly their happiness has cost the Alsatians and Lorrainers who have assisted them, for Vichy observes on this point also a shameful silence.

Let those who have benefited by the suffering of our Rhenish compatriots remember after the war the blood which has flowed for them and for France between the Rhine and the Vosges.

THE UNDERGROUND ARMY

It was in Alsace and Lorraine that the first French organization for sabotage and Fifth Columnists appeared. Some smuggled prisoners, others prepared leaflets and anonymous letters. But there were others who, though having nothing in common with the first, were, however, far more dangerous; they formed arms dumps and organized sabotage by force of arms. Against them summonses to deliver every weapon to be found in the country were served from time to time, and read as follows:

"All military weapons, ammunition and explosives must be surrendered before such and such a date, under penalty of death or hard labour."

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 3 July 1943.

The attempt against the life of Wagner, in April 1941, was but the beginning. Soon, sabotage spread to all spheres, and assumed all forms, such as the sabotage of ration cards, which resulted in three Civil Servants of Thann being sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on 21 October 1942.

We may mention also fire-raising cases: Joseph Fuchs, aged 27, was sentenced to death on 11 November 1942, for having deliberately set on fire two barns full of corn. For a long time the Germans had sought to make an example of some convicted person. A police notice had warned "confederates" at the beginning of the year in bringing to their notice the ease with which fires were spreading and had recommended that some measures should be taken to cope with the situation.

Sabotage to postal communications:

"Damage done wilfully to telegraphic and telephonic installations is constantly on the increase. Most often insulators are smashed with stones. The same thing happens to receivers in kiosks."

These are the very words used by the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* of 29 June 1943, which accuses schoolboys of this hooliganism.

The Alsatians displayed such boldness that some of them even spread "defeatism" in the Army. The way to the drilling field of Oberhofen, in Haguenau, was strictly forbidden and delinquents threatened with the severest penalties, on 17 October 1942, following incidents organized by Alsatians.

"Disorganization of railways, telephones, destruction of German military cars." Such are the charges for which ten Alsatians were condemned, one to the death penalty, the other nine to various terms of imprisonment. One of the accused had destroyed "more than 100 vehicles single-handed."*

The frontier posts which the Germans had put back in the exact place they occupied in 1914 were systematically destroyed by "unknown persons." After these incidents, the local police were ordered to conduct "inspection patrols" in the forests of the Vosges, particularly on Saturdays and Sundays.†

One month later Gauleiter Wagner gave us once more his own testimony by publicly declaring on 22 June 1942:

"Let us hope, however, that all those who, like madmen, blindly hate Adolf Hitler and National Socialism will understand in time their mistake and contribute to free the civilized world from the Bolshevik plague.

"As for those of our adversaries who are unable to attain a reasonable outlook on the situation, they must expect that we shall fight them mercilessly.

"There is undoubtedly, in Alsace also, a great number of people filled with an evil mind. They have but one desire—to see Germany defeated in this new war."

The year went by; the temperature rose. Gauleiter Wagner exclaimed on 16 November:

"There are idiots who hope to see the Americans arrive in Alsace. Be sure it will not be the Americans, but perhaps the idiots in question will be forced to go and fight the Americans."

In Lorraine, at that time, the situation was perhaps more dramatic. Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel does not hide his indignation:

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 19 April 1942.

† *Ibid.*, 4 June 1942.

"I am speaking" [he exclaims on 20 August 1942] "to those among our contemporaries who spread absurd rumours in cafés, railway compartments, after Mass, etc., and to those who propagate such trash. The morale of some Lorrainers is not sound. The real guilty people are those who influence the state of mind of their fellow-countrymen.

"The spheres known as the 'well-thinking ones' have behaved like pure French people. It goes so far that they not only remain estranged from the 'Community of the German People' but they insult its members.

"The more I have endeavoured to give time to individuals, the more they have seized opportunities to wreck my purpose.

"Apart from honest Lorrainers, an incorrigible clique makes itself conspicuous by seeking publicity or by underground channels to alienate those who are well disposed from their loyal attitude.

"In future they will have to deal with the organizations ensuring the safety of the State."

The great trials for sabotage and spying began in 1942. Fourteen death sentences were passed on 17 September of that year. First motive: "Reconstitution of the Communist Party." But, for this charge, the facts reported are vague, or rather non-existent. On the other hand, people sentenced to death were also "guilty of high treason against the Reich. Some had also attempted to undermine the morale of the Army and to favour the enemy. They had also broadcast for the enemy."

In 1943 the storm broke. At the beginning of the year the atmosphere in Alsace was characterized as follows by the official speaker of the Party in Karlsruhe, Weissbecker, who published, on 2 January, a piece of reporting in his paper *Der Führer*:

"One must come into contact with those people without prejudice and not allow oneself to be influenced by silly gossip according to which Alsations have never been French.

"Many lunatics say: 'The Americans are arriving.' However ridiculous and insane it might be, there are really some of those fools who await the Americans.

"I have told them: 'Many among you look always towards France and the past instead of looking towards Germany and a happy future.'

"I have often heard people say also: 'Under French rule we lived in pleasant circumstances. . . . As to you . . . you have taken everything from us.'"

Weissbecker saw things as they were. The protests and threats of Gauleiter Wagner as well as the crimes ordered by him against the patriots served as a tragic illustration to the sincerity of his report.

On 26 January 1943, four members of an organization which, during one year, had "prepared and broadcast leaflets dangerous to the safety of the state," were condemned to death and two others to hard labour for life. The accused had also gathered some arms left behind in 1940 by the French Army in retreat. They confessed having hidden them in a carefully selected spot, in anticipation of the day they would settle their accounts with National Socialists.*

The next day, another secret organization was tried for "preparing the treachery" and given three sentences of hard labour for life and four of hard labour with a time limit. The case of Terser, one of the accused, was typical. He had applied to work as a German Civil Servant in order to carry on acts of sabotage.

Another called Sonntag had used similar tactics and signed all papers required by the Nazis to be appointed as a teacher.

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 27 January 1943.

All of them are abused by the Nazi Press, which, harping on a familiar theme, declares: "A few traitors will not be permitted to stab the German soldier in the back five minutes before victory has been won."

It was the same day that the great trial of one organization of "help to prisoners" took place which we have already referred to, and during which two ladies belonging to the best Catholic society were sentenced to death.

Two months later, 35 Alsatian patriots were tried for having organized clandestine groups; four were sentenced to death, among them a young man aged 17, and 15 sentenced to hard labour.

Another organization was cancelled two months later, and on 6 May the papers printed the following story:

"Eleven young men from 15 to 17 years old, whom their parents had failed to educate and watch with proper care, formed last autumn an association of malefactors.

"From autumn to the middle of December they committed several crimes which caused some rioting, because the authorities were unable to make arrests immediately. The plans of Ferdinand Schaeffer, aged 16, of his accomplice, Alfred Reiminger, 17, and of a friend not yet 15 years old, named Rudolf Schlosser, were simple.

"They aimed at spreading disturbances among the population and at wrecking the German restoration of Alsace. These young rascals were soon joined by other confederates, among them René Hetzel, aged 18.

"All had a horror of German discipline and order. Life under the French régime must have been much more beautiful!

"Two passers-by were attacked, knocked down and robbed by Reiminger, Schaeffer, Schlosser, Hetzel and Roman Kessler, one certain night, in Eugene Wurtz Street. Two others suffered the same fate in the Rebstockgasschen.

"To put into practice Schaeffer's political ideas, the scoundrels tore a swastika flag from Adolf Hitler Square, in Strasburg. They painted the Gaullist emblem on the walls of several houses, facing the streets, in several districts. They smashed with stones the glass fronts of the shops exhibiting national emblems of the Reich. They brought out the fire-brigade on false alarms, and smashed the frames where the authorities had posted bulletins from the German High Command.

"It is always thanks to the black-out that their evil deeds have been perpetrated.

"Reiminger stole from his employer a great number of surplus ration cards and clothing coupons which were about to be pulped.

"He personally used them and sold several to his accomplices. Some of these young men were the bearers of prohibited weapons. The tribunal sentenced Reiminger to death as an enemy of the people and a bandit."

Other sentences varied from 10 years' to one year's imprisonment.

Nothing could better show what degree of tension had been reached than the ranting—the word is not too strong—of Robert Wagner, Gauleiter of Alsace.

Let us quote the following excerpts from his speeches in February 1943 alone:

On 13 February, in Saverne:

"Our fist will fall on the incorrigible Alsations who believe they can attack us. Do not attempt to count on my generosity. You might be sorry for it. I shall know how to carry out the mission entrusted to me in Alsace.

I have ordered the police to repress every excess with the utmost severity. You must submit or be crushed. I can assure you that our enemies will be crushed! Death sentences recently passed by the People's Court against traitors have shown that we are determined to exterminate them without mercy."

Eight days later he said, on the 21st :

"Let us refer also to people who spread all sorts of more or less absurd rumours. Such disreputable persons are vulnerable to enemy propaganda. They diffuse any nonsense, assuming an important air, if not actually acting malignantly. As to the declared enemies of the State and the truly anti-social elements, justice and the police will deal with them. They will show no mercy towards them."

Later, in Thann, on 7 March :

"On the occasion of our recent reverses, some traitors believed that their hour had struck. We expected as much. But I will not tolerate the majority of good Alsations to be discredited by such rogues. I will act ruthlessly towards these blackguards. I am responsible to the Führer, the Reich and the honour of Alsace !

"I have been obliged to start prosecutions which ended in terrible sentences. Others are about to be passed.

"As to persons who will perpetrate acts of violence or sabotage, I shall reserve the firing squad for them ! For each German murdered in German Alsace by terrorists, ten traitors at least shall die, as the execution of the Altkirch bandits has proved."

The bandits in question were, as we shall see, young men who had attempted to escape in order to avoid being incorporated in the German Army.

Such was the position after three years of occupation and frantic propaganda. The "rediscovered kindred" upon whom the Germans had attempted to impose the new cult were fighting pitched battles against the worshippers of the Idol.

The year 1943 was marked by an uninterrupted series of trials and death sentences.

Let us consider the trial of 15 July 1943. Ten death sentences, eleven of hard labour, and several terms of imprisonment were imposed.

Here is what the Germans themselves said about it :

"Once more the Supreme Court of the Reich had to try a certain number of persons accused of having formed secret and forbidden organizations aiming at the overthrow of the existing order. The accusation holds them also responsible for having enrolled agitators and carried out active propaganda by editing and diffusing leaflets. Some of the chief culprits enabled escaped war prisoners and young Alsations liable for military service to cross the Alsatian border secretly. Some had helped them by other means.

"The accused, Alphonse Adam, from Strasburg, was without doubt the intellectual leader of all this gang of enemies of the State and individuals in the pay of the enemy.

"Contrary to former trials conducted in Strasburg, the accused did not this time belong to Communist circles. It was mostly a question of natives of Strasburg and the neighbourhood. They were generally so-called intellectuals, who had thought they could renounce their Germanism and treacherously attack the Reich.

CATHOLIQUES FRANÇAIS !

Hitler ose se poser en défenseur du christianisme, mais ses paroles comptent peu, chacun le sait. Ce qui compte ce sont ses actes.

Des actes d'Hitler contre la religion catholique, en voici :

A Strasbourg, l'abbé Eber, ancien secrétaire de l'Evêque et ancien président de l'Union des Catholiques, a été arrêté ainsi que 17 autres prêtres.

En Moselle, 60 prêtres ont été arrêtés, parmi lesquels l'abbé Pink et le curé de St-Julien qui, tous les dimanches, priait pour le retour des expulsés.

Au surplus, le curé de St-Germain-des-Prés, à Paris, est emprisonné par ordre de la Gestapo en raison de son attitude patriotique.

Voilà ce que le Kardinal Baudrillart "kollaborateur" bien connu ne dit pas, mais nous ne le confondons pas avec la masse des catholiques français dont nous savons qu'ils sont patriotes.

**Catholiques français, à nous,
pour la liberté et l'indépendance
de la France !**

Le Front National de l'Indépendance de la France
qui, des gaullistes aux communistes,
groupe l'ensemble des patriotes français

"But our leaders do not trifle ! Whatever the correction and standing of persons endeavouring to disintegrate the Reich, whatever the reasons inciting them to act, one fact is certain : we say to them : 'You have the audacity to wish to undermine the very foundations of National Socialist Germany while she fights for her existence ! We will annihilate you !'

"The following have been sentenced to death : Alphonse Adam, Robert Kibier, Joseph Seger, Peter Tschaen, Carl Schneider, Robert Mayer, Renatus Mengus, Georges Werle, Robert Husser and Albert Denu. And to various terms of hard labour, from three to ten years, the following : Emile Hincker, J. Deiss, R. Deiss, Georges Fastinger, René Gistel, Paul Weber, Alfred Wolff, Frédéric Schlewer, René Gross, Eugène Bischoff and Johann Metzger. Several others convicted of less serious charges, notably women, have only been sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

"The sentenced Adam, Kieffer, Segerm, Tschaen, Schneider and Mayer have already been executed."*

None of these names appears in the list of sentences which we publish in the Annex and which goes up to 6 June 1943.

The very incomplete statistics we have established for the period from 1 January to 6 June 1943 give a total of 60 death sentences, including two women, in Alsace alone.

These victims have not fallen as hostages, but after sentence had been passed by the Tribunal : all had acted in full connivance against the Reich.

Help to prisoners, evasions, deportation, condemnations, leaflets, sabotage, attacks, all these criminal acts have been perpetrated in annexed territory, where Nazi organizations are all enforced and in full working order, where Civil Servants have been brought from Germany where no outside help is to be expected, where all citizens know each other, where everyone's gestures are spied upon every minute.

Alsace and Lorraine have thus the right to claim the first place in the annals of French resistance to the invader when the first attack against a Nazi leader took place as early as April 1941. . . .

If ever a more blatant denial was given to the worshippers of the blood, it was precisely in French Rhineland Provinces. The "liberating Reich" had gone so far, one must admit, as to make sacrifices in favour of the "rediscovered kindred." It had repaired damage done during the war, and made an effort to maintain in the country better supplies than in other parts of Germany. It had developed a formidable propaganda to win the hearts of the inhabitants. It had expelled in hundreds of thousands those it had believed to be refractory. But all in vain !

To those who, in the name of a hypothetical law of the blood, put forward rights which would trample underfoot the freedom of human conscience, to scholars who, scorning the value of imponderables, have the pretension to weigh intricate "pros and cons" on imaginary scales, Frenchmen reply : "Behold ! These men, women, young girls, children, abandoned by all, have struggled in isolation, suffered under terror, fought against all powerful conquerors and died, because they loved France, because they could not live without her, because they are France !"

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 16 July 1942.

THE SLAUGHTERED RECRUITS

"Instead of a happy reunion, we have received the incredible news that Renatus Grossgeorg (René Grangeorges) (*sic*), aged 20, died in the East, from an accident in hospital. He was taken to a cemetery of heroes, to lie in peace, far from his country. . . ." *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 23 March, 1942.

When, on 8 May 1941, the Labour Services became obligatory in Alsace,* Alsatians immediately realized the meaning of this measure.

They began by sending appeals to volunteers, that was the first stage. Then they decreed the official creation of the organization of volunteers. Finally the last stage made the Association compulsory. As far as the Labour Services were concerned, the three stages had been covered.†

Now, in Germany, the Labour Services were but a preliminary stage to Military Service.

In Lorraine, Bürckel had also decreed, on 1 May, compulsory labour. It was clear that the final aim of the Germans was to enlist Alsatians and Lorrainers in the army of the Reich.

Besides, who would oppose such violation of right, however criminal? Vichy was silent. One was justified in thinking that Nazi propagandists were right in asserting that the "so-called French Government" had yielded Alsace and Lorraine to Germany through secret clauses of the Armistice.

Young men from Alsace and Lorraine made their decision. There was not a moment to lose; soon it would be too late. Rather than wear the uniform of the enemy, they would flee from the country, they would go to France.

One by one, or in groups, the young disappeared from their villages, their workshops, their offices. In order to give an idea of the extent of this movement we can say that the number (official figure controlled by organizations of Alsatians and Lorrainers) of young men who escaped reached 12,000 on 11 November 1942. They escaped at the price of untold dangers and sacrifices about which we shall speak.

In Lorraine Gauleiter Bürckel was disagreeably surprised. Most Lorrainers had, in 1940, without hesitation, registered in the "Community of the German People." As realists, they considered that a signature given under such conditions had no value whatever. Bürckel triumphed. But when he happened to ask Lorrainers to serve Germany effectively, it became quite another matter.

Escapes multiplied to such an extent that on 31 July 1941 Bürckel determined to deport the parents of fugitives into the former Reich as reprisals. The Gauleiter made, at this juncture, a speech which constitutes a monument of cruelty and an illuminating confession of failure:

"There are" [he said] "a certain number of Lorrainers who chose to cross the frontier during the night and in the fog, in order to shirk the obligation they have to work for the 'Labour Services.'"

"On the border people worthy of trust must live. That is why all families of young men liable for Labour Service will be deported to the Reich if such young men do not register for duty. Parents are responsible for them. I feel convinced that in all cases they had approved of the actions of their sons. In spite of this, I still desire to offer them the opportunity for atonement. If they return before 15 August we shall give up the idea of sending their parents to deportation. If they do not return, those parents will leave on 16 August for the Reich."

* From 16 August.

† 1) 1940, (2) 20 February 1941, (3) 8 May 1941.

In Alsace Gauleiter Wagner took identical measures. Now, not only did the escaped young men not return, but the number of evasions increased. Then German threats were carried out and thousands of families of Alsatians and Lorrainers took the road to exile. However, exceptional precautionary measures were taken all along the border. Machine-gun posts were installed in the valleys and passes of the Vosges; patrols provided with police-dogs were organized and were ordered to fire after a first warning. Scores of young men were killed in trying to escape surreptitiously.

All counter-measures were taken in vain. The conscripts knew they were risking their lives, that they had to cross not only a frontier bristling with barbed wire, but also the forbidden zone stretching to the other side of the Vosges. They knew that after their departure their parents, brothers, sisters would be deported to Germany; they even knew that in some cases, on the other side of the mountain, French *gendarmes* had already delivered into the hands of the Germans fugitives from Lorraine. Nevertheless they went away.

The speeches delivered by Gauleiters became more and more threatening, the allusions they made more and more obvious. It was a necessity for Alsace and Lorraine to deserve the place set aside for them in the Greater Germany of tomorrow. It was a favour, an honour, which was offered to their inhabitants. It would be humiliating for them, after victory, to have to answer their comrades of the "old Reich":

"While you were sacrificing your life on the Eastern front for the Great German Fatherland, we were at home or in a public-house engaged in emptying mugs of beer!"*

Now, formerly, German propaganda had proclaimed in very loud tones that freed Alsatians and Lorrainer war prisoners were now "enjoying the blessings of peace, thanks to the Führer"! Such liberation had certainly been favourably welcomed in the country, although it had been emphasized that it was due to the fact that Alsatians and Lorrainers were considered to be Germans. And now they were clearly made to understand that it was their duty to be killed on the Russian front, because they were still considered to be Germans.

Germany was losing at the same time all the advantages she had gained through her former gesture. It was obvious that she had not determined without serious motives to sacrifice the psychological benefits she had obtained by dint of meetings and costly demonstrations.

The Alsatians realized that everything was going well, that is to say, badly for the Germans, and they felt less than ever inclined to fight wearing the uniform of the enemy.

Thus, when on 12 October 1941 (two days after Dr. Dietrich had solemnly declared, in the Wilhelmstrasse, the annihilation of the Russian Army), the first official appeal for volunteers was launched with great propaganda, it met with no success. An original proclamation from General Osswald, published in the paper eight days later, failed to obtain more results. The Germans realized above all that they were bound to admit the strange fact that the war was going on, while they had declared that it was over. Propagandists applied themselves to this task.

"For nearly a quarter of a century the Russian leaders prepared an attack against Europe. Their Five Year Plan was only a pretext for rearming.† The most varied appeals were sent to specialists of all kinds and to non-specialists. Youth must be at the front where all heroes are to be found! Alsatians! The German blood is calling you! The hour of Alsace will strike!"

* Wagner dixit.

† *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 30 December 1941.

Volunteer wireless operators in the Navy were invited to enlist for lectures from the age of 16. Towards the middle of January 1942 huge posters appeared in all the Alsatian towns.

Under the title "*Freiwillige Elsasser heraus !*" ("Alsatian volunteers enrol !") Gauleiter Wagner declared :

"Alsace has the unique opportunity of proving that she is fully conscious of her great German history and that she is worthy of its traditions. It would be far simpler to introduce compulsory military service. But it is nobler and greater to answer with a free will to the call which is made to the whole German nation for the salvation of Europe."

"Above all, let no one imagine" [declared the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* in commenting upon these posters] "that we appeal to young Alsatians because the Wehrmacht is not strong enough to bring to a successful end the campaign in the East."

Every form of stratagem was used, every type of pressure was exercised, to obtain enrolments of volunteers. In certain cases the Germans even went so far as to deceive the good faith of young Alsatians by making them sign some form of declaration, and thanks to using carbon paper, their signature was reproduced on an enlistment form.

The "volunteers," who were immediately sent to Russia, made every effort to join the other side, and Ilya Ehremburg has told us in what circumstances Oskar Muller, a German soldier of the 21st Division, born in Strasburg, surrendered on 14 June.

When this prisoner, an adolescent, was questioned, he declared in German : "I am not German, I am French."

This Alsatian related that he was employed to do errands by a battalion N.C.O. The German officer laughed at him because of his accent, calling him "Dirty Frenchman." The Germans sent him to the Karkov front, where they wanted him to fight for the torturers of his country. But the loyalty of an Alsatian is unfathomable. The Frenchman, Oskar Muller, a son of the people, joined the Red Army. Oskar Muller is French, he is no Pierre Laval.

Volunteers enjoy considerable material advantages—pay, grant, promotion, seniority, etc.

In spite of all the efforts made by the Germans, the Voluntary Organization only brought absurd results. Without doubt the Germans were able to publish letters from Alsatians serving on the Russian front, but never did they disclose the number of volunteers.

The appeals brought about results contrary to those for which they hoped, for the more Alsatians and Lorrainers were urged to enlist, the more they escaped. If they were caught, they were sentenced to imprisonment, according to a decree published on 3 May 1942, or sent to a reprisals camp.

"And if," said the decree, "there has been in the course of this action any plot against the safety of the State, the culprits will be executed." The aim of this clause was to sentence to death all those who had attempted to escape in groups (in which case it was easy to pretend there had been a plot to endanger the safety of the State) and to increase thus the dangers of escaping.

A number of fugitives made up their minds to escape after having received individual calls to appear for medical examination. It is thus that one Lorrainer who succeeded in reaching London to enlist with General de Gaulle's forces told us the following story :

"I left Lorraine on 12 April 1942. The previous day I had received my mobilization orders for the German Army. I was due to appear at Saarbrück. I left on foot with a friend and we crossed the border at Nancy.

Up to then I had been busy smuggling prisoners who had escaped from Saarbrück and Mannheim. Together with two other Lorrainers we succeeded in this manner in helping 24 prisoners to get across."

The more mobilization appeared imminent, the more evasions, and consequently deportations assumed the appearance of mass immigration. Papers abstained from publishing the lists of these deportations; they were too long. The Press was ordered not to insist, but to publish from time to time, by way of example, names of families transferred to the Reich for so-called "educational purposes," accompanying the publication with appropriate comments.

On 15 August 1942, a whole series of families whose sons and daughters had escaped had their names printed: Karl Weber from Molsheim with his wife and five children, Joseph Martin with his wife and two sons, because his two other sons had escaped. On 21 August new names were given, and this time the chief of German propaganda, Adolf Schmitt, thought it wise to broadcast new warnings:

"How much more character the young men who appeared for medical examination showed than those who fled by crossing the border, who escaped in a cowardly fashion thanks to the night and the fog. We have started transferring the parents by force to the old Reich. These parents, in fact, have neglected their educational duties."

This speech remained without effect. Two days later a fresh group of Alsatian families originating from the spheres of Mülhausen, Guebwiller, etc., was "transplanted to Germany so as to give them again a German frame of mind under the influence of a purely National Socialist atmosphere."

The *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, in announcing these measures, added:

"Several persons are involved, who have not made a secret of their hostility to the State by indulging in enemy propaganda, in speaking French in a provoking manner in public, in refusing to comply with orders relating to the education of the youth, in adopting in most varied instances a disloyal attitude. In other cases the persons concerned have not prevented their children from unlawfully crossing the border. They have thus blatantly violated the duty they have of watching the same border and have proved undoubtedly that they are not to be trusted."

Three days after, on 26 August, the Alsatians, on opening their morning paper, read the following fatal notice: "Compulsory military service is decreed in Alsace." Two other clauses followed; the first conferred German citizenship on Alsatians who were, or would be, called to the Army. The second read as follows:

"(1) The German 'comrades of the people' who in Alsace belong to contingents determined by a special order, will be incorporated in the German Army as a compulsory measure.

"(2) Conscripts will be subjected to the same obligations as the German soldiers and will enjoy the same privileges.

"(3) Men belonging to the reserve of the Army but not called up for active service will be subjected to prescriptions applicable to the fighting forces."

At the same time Gauleiter Wagner launched an appeal ending with these words:

"Alsace has still duties to fulfil. She will be offered no presents, for there is no one in this world of eternal strife who could think of living only for a reward. She must justify her future rank in the New Europe. It is only by taking an active part in the struggle that Alsace may ensure for herself a happy future. That is why the introduction of compulsory military service was a necessity."

The Press also attempted to justify this criminal mobilization.

"Some Alsations" [wrote the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*] "may perhaps ask themselves the reason for this measure, since the Reich does not need Alsatian soldiers to bring the war to a victorious end. Germany has once more given a proof of this by the success she has gained in Russia and North Africa.

"The introduction of compulsory military service in Alsace aims at giving this recovered province all possible means for proving its worth. According to whether we Alsations succeed or not in doing so depends our fate in the future Greater Germany. Our country did not return to the Reich in order to keep the habits which are responsible for causing the downfall of France.

"Naturally there was not a single German who would have objected to the war ending sooner, but the prolongation of hostilities has resulted in one advantage for Alsace. Through this prolongation, a kind of selection is in progress."

The explanations given by the enemy were now reticent, now cynical.

"Some Alsations start again to tell us the same old story; they invoke the oath they have taken to the French flag. Every time German Alsations are mobilized in the German Army, the same old tale is produced. The Reich is forbidden the right of mobilizing Alsations under the pretext that nobody has yet released them of their allegiance to the French flag.

"Confess your mistakes, gentlemen, and be at peace. *Remember that the French Army was disbanded by Marshal Pétain himself.* Let us frankly confess that Alsations are dissatisfied at being enrolled in the German Army. This explains why they present us with the same old story. The present duties of the Reich are quite different. Germans, French, Europeans, all must fight fiercely against the Red Peril. The old story of allegiance to the French colours leaves us cold."*

Three days after, the mobilization decree of 25 August 1942 was published. It called to the colours all young men born from 1920 to 1924. Thousands of them had already disappeared. Some had succeeded in reaching the border. Others were hidden in the mountains, waiting for a favourable opportunity, but others had already paid for this attempt with their lives.

"On 26 August a young man of 26, born in Mülhausen, was killed by rifle-fire by members of the 'control service' while attempting to cross the border unlawfully in the neighbourhood of the Donon," announced on 28 August the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, which wrote on the following day:

"We learn that, since this incident, the service of control of the border has been forced to use their arms in another case. Another man has been killed, for having exposed himself to danger, in spite of the warnings given.

"In Alsace, at the time of the 'happy-go-lucky' state of French legislation,

* *Mülhausen Tageblatt*, 7 February 1943.

people had been accustomed not to take things seriously enough. Such an attitude towards the law has cost their lives to several persons.

"Still a greater number have been interned for the same reasons in 'security' or 'concentration camps.' Most of them will be tried according to the penal code in time of war. The service of control of the border has for some time past made use of police-dogs and has been sending motorized patrols day and night which complete the service of the units employed up to now to this effect. The shooting which has recently resulted in the death of several people proves how one is mistaken in imagining that on the stretch of this long frontier some breach will be found through which it will be possible to escape to the other side.

"The sentry outposts have everywhere sufficient depth, without mentioning the places where, according to the stories of the 'riff-raff' of smugglers, nothing happened up to now. Let those who value their life act in consequence. Any attempt made to cross the border unlawfully is similar to trying to commit suicide. We wish once more to put the people on guard against such action."

These young men who today have died for France—who has murdered them? Without doubt, it was a German who pulled the trigger. But there are other people, so-called Frenchmen, who have a still greater responsibility.

On 27 October 1941 General Beynet, commanding an Army Corps, Chairman of the Delegation to the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, sent to Artillery General Vogl, Chairman of the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, a note. The first sentence from paragraph 3 reads as follows:

"On 19 October 1940, the German Government obtained from the French Government the liberation from the Army as well as from the Youth Labour Camps of Frenchmen born in Alsace and Lorraine."

Thus, then, on 19 October 1940, a French Government "liberated" French people at the request of the German Government. What was the meaning of this liberation? We learn again from General Beynet, who tells us: "The German Government has thus enrolled in formations of the National Socialist Party the youth of Alsace and Lorraine forcing them to enter the Labour organizations."

Thus, then, young men shot by the "control service" had been betrayed to the enemy by the Vichy Government on 19 October 1940.

We do not know the names of the victims of this "shooting" which cost their lives to several people, but those who "freed them" on 19 October 1940, at the request of the German Government, undoubtedly know them!

In spite of the dogs, the motorized patrols, pill-boxes and barbed-wire entanglements, the young men still succeeded in crossing the border.

The Germans then created on 22 September 1942 a forbidden zone in Alsace itself. It stretched along the Swiss and French frontiers from Basle to the Donon, on an area several kilometres wide. St. Marie aux Mines, Bruche, Metzeral, the Schlucht, all the south and west of the districts of Mülhausen, Altkirch, Thann, Molzheim, Colmar, Selestat were included in this zone—if they "put forward sufficient motives to uphold their claims." We must not forget that on the other side of the Vosges the French counties had also been, since the Armistice, a forbidden zone.

The creation of this new zone in no way slowed down the escapes. From time to time fresh victims were shot.

In Lorraine the announcement of mobilization had given rise to the most extraordinary demonstrations ever seen in an occupied country.

Bürckel had spread the news that Lorrainers who did not feel they were Germans were allowed to ask, in writing, for the authorization to be deported to

France. Then from town and country arrived thousands of Lorrainers who claimed to be deported.

Let us quote the story of an eye-witness :

"As if some invisible force had broadcast this order, on all the roads and by train, the gallant Lorrainers ran to Metz, Thionville. In every town they were to be seen, wearing their *bérets*, the Cross of Lorraine in their button-holes, to be enrolled as volunteers for France, leaving behind them everything they possessed. All through the day such enrolments were received. No one worked any more. Offices, factories, mines, Civil Services, everything was idle. The whole borough of X—led by its Mayor—volunteered for deportation. In Metz, as the Prefecture Square was black with men who asked to be deported, someone asked from a window, 'Who volunteers to go to France?' All raised their hands. The Germans took a photograph and published it with the caption : 'Volunteers from Lorraine for the Russian front.'

"The Germans were not slow to react. Posters announced that the will of those who had enlisted would be crushed. The signatories, one after the other, were summoned and told there would be no more deportations to France, but to Poland. 'I thought above all of my four children, and of my two youngest ones. I cannot expose them to spend a winter in Poland. Therefore, with death in my soul, I was compelled to withdraw my signature.' No doubt, to impress the population of X, H, the baker, was told that he was given one hour to withdraw his signature, otherwise he would immediately start for Poland, and in this case his son was warned that he would go to a concentration camp."

Bürckel then had to give up the idea of granting the Lorrainers the right to go. And mobilization went on, evasions as well, to such an extent that on 11 November 1942 those who escaped from Alsace and Lorraine represented about 20 per cent of the contingent liable for mobilization. In nine boroughs of the Upper Rhine, six of the Lower Rhine and five of the Moselle, when mobilization orders arrived, at the end of September and beginning of October, there was not a single recruit to be found. All had fled. One of the latter, on arriving in London to enlist with General de Gaulle's forces, related his adventures to us :

"I left Alsace on 28 August 1942. On that day, an order had been published concerning the incorporation of Alsatians and Lorrainers in the German Army. I had to pass the medical examination the same day at 2 p.m., in the Rue du Ballon at Mülhausen.

"I started immediately for Switzerland.

"I passed near a little stream. There was a line of barbed wire 5 yards wide and 4 yards high and sentries every 100 yards. I crossed the line towards 8 o'clock p.m. When I arrived in the free zone I found posters on which one could read : 'Long live Collaboration !'

"Once I reached Béziers, I had to appear before the police to settle the question of my ration cards. The constable asked me : 'Where do you come from?' 'From Alsace . . . I escaped in order not to have to wear the German uniform.' 'You are a deserter from the German Army? . . . A deserter from the Labour Army? . . . What is your religion?' 'Catholic.' 'That is not a fine thing to do for a Catholic ! I am going to make enquiries and I shall have to send you back to the frontier !'"

Over there the shooting continued.

The most heartrending tragedy happened near Altkirch, where 18 Alsatians

were killed. Provided with arms and ammunition, they had decided to form a group in order to cross the frontier by force.

Carefully avoiding busy roads, they had slipped through the fields. Armed with rifles, carbines and French pistols, they had resolved to pass at any cost. They encountered a patrol. After challenging them, the guards opened fire. The fugitives answered. Three of them fell, mortally wounded. A frontier guard was killed outright. Leaving their three dead comrades, the 15 young men fled to the interior of the country. Fourteen of them were arrested the same night or on the Saturday.

They were tried in Strasburg three days later; 13 were condemned to death and shot immediately.

Here are some of the disreputable comments with which German journalists related this crime:

"No Alsatian need show any surprise at the death sentences passed on Tuesday and carried out this morning against the 13 bandits. From the end of January, the Court of the People and the Reich, Supreme Tribunal of Germany, passed in Strasburg sentences of death and heavy sentences of hard labour against individuals affiliated to illegal groups. These condemnations clearly showed already that the authorities of the Reich were determined to carry out mercilessly the measures against the traitors which the Gaullists of Alsace had announced on 21 January last.

"The accused are the true enemies of the new regime. The motives which inspired them truly give an edifying example. We must not forget that these Alsations wished to cross the border into Switzerland, a country which, already during the Great War, exercised a morbid fascination on the imagination of Alsatian deserters. These deserters hoped to be interned there and to lead an idle life. Many of them were secondary school boys who had failed in their 'Matriculation.' They felt no remorse in bringing dishonour and despair to their families. But in this business, some parents are quite as guilty as their sons. They had approved of their plans of escape. They had even provided them with the necessary funds.

"The accused did not die a soldier's death, but an ignominious one.

"They met the fate set aside for traitors. Nothing, not even blood, can efface the blemish of treason!

"Their end has nothing tragic or moving!"

Gauleiter Wagner, following the executions which took place at regular intervals during the year 1943, exclaimed in the course of a speech delivered in public in Guebwiller on 16 May:

"It matters little to know whether some Alsations show no inclination to wear the uniform. We shall be merciless to traitors. The incorrigible who have recourse to violence will perish! Have no hope for any pardon!"

While our young men risked their lives and were often shot for avoiding the shame of wearing the uniform of the enemy, their parents were pitilessly deported to the old Reich.

At regular intervals, lists of such families appeared in the Press. Sometimes the whole family, father, mother, children, grand-parents, were forced within 24 hours to take the road to exile. These families had in some instances two, three, four, up to seven children. These expulsions provoked the following comments:

"On 3 September 1942, three young men, liable for compulsory military service, did not report for duty. These conscripts who acted thus carelessly and without any valid reason have been immediately arrested. They will meet with the punishment they deserve. Their parents have failed to exercise their authority in order to force their sons to obey the summons unflinchingly. They will, therefore, be transferred shortly to the old Reich, in order to be taught to become again good Germans, conscious of their duty."

Let us quote finally, for otherwise we should never conclude, the list which appeared on 17 November 1942 :

- "Eugène Bechelen, living up to now in Wittelsheim, and his wife.
- "Charles Bernhard, clerk, of Alt-Thann, with his wife and son.
- "Auguste Bischoff, smelter, of Thann, with his wife and daughter.
- "Paul Dietrich, weaver, of Moosch, with his wife and children.
- "Renatus Domminger, billposter, of Staffelfelden, with his wife and two children.
- "Emile Ehlinger, locksmith, of Huesseren, with his wife and two children.
- "Ludwig Vuillard, manager, of St. Amarin, with his wife and son.
- "Armandus Risser, policeman, of Staffelfelden, with his wife and four children.
- "Leo Mathia, factory worker, of Bitschwiller, with his wife and four children.
- "Martin Lindecker, journeyman, of Alt-Thann, with his wife and two children.
- "Emil Kueder, locksmith, of Wittelsheim, with his wife and four children.
- "Joseph Goy, factory worker, of Alt-Thann, with his wife and daughter.
- "André Ehret, forester, with his wife and two children.
- "Charles Eymann, technician, of Alt-Thann, with his wife and two children.
- "Alfons Jenn, builder, of Niederbubach, with his wife and daughter.
- "Jules Kippelen, factory worker, of Rodern, with his wife and daughter.
- "Alfons Wagner, druggist, of Soultz-sous-Forêt, with his wife and two children.
- "Philippe Zebst, master blacksmith, of Oberbronn, with his wife and two sons.
- "Ferdinand Pate, manager of the Finance Office of Saarbrücken, with his wife and two daughters.
- "Paul Flech, doctor, of Haguenau.
- "Joseph Stuertzer, office clerk, of Bitschwiller, with his wife and two children.
- "Henri Gaertner, gardener, of Bitschwiller, with his wife and three children.
- "Gerard Zimmerman, school-teacher, of Bitschwiller, with his wife and daughter.
- "Charles Geiger, tradesman, of Haguenau, with his wife and daughter.
- "Georges Wenker, grocer, of Saverne, with his wife and seven children.
- "Alois Frisson, savings bank accountant, of Wissembourg, with his wife and four sons.
- "Eugene Eibel, Mayor of Reischaffen, with his wife.
- "Charles Kany, tradesman, of Wissembourg, with his wife and three sons.
- "Martin Willfersheim, office clerk, of Wissembourg, with his wife and daughter.
- "Kuno Arnold, municipal clerk, of Thann, with his wife and daughter.
- "Frantz Heitmann, barrister, of Saverne, with his wife and two sons.

"Jean Strassbach, postman, of Michelbrunn, with his wife and daughter.

"Henri Walter, wholesale wine merchant, of Barenbach, with his wife and son.

"Charles Heinrich, publican, of Barenbach."

One finds in this list families of two, three, four, up to seven children; it includes factory workers, tradesmen, blacksmiths, doctors, business men, wine merchants. All social classes from all regions. Where is, then, that Alsace where, we are told, the "bourgeois alone" are French traitors, when the lower class is supposed to have remained faithful to Germanism?

The fate set aside for old parents deported and deprived of resources is explained in a sentence taken from the *Mülhausen Tageblatt* of 7 November 1943: "After their settlement in the old Reich, the Comrades of the People who have neglected their duty will have to give, forced by the simple necessity of living, two or three times as much as they have refused to give their country."

Young men continued to escape in such great numbers that Switzerland, uneasy at seeing such an influx of people, was obliged to take special measures to cope with the situation.

Towards the end of 1942 it was mentioned that, since August, 20 lorries loaded with whole families of deported persons, father, mother, sister or children of young patriots, crossed Kehl bridge, opposite Strasburg, every day, going to Eastern Germany.

The year 1943 began under such conditions.

The list gets longer every day, and Wagner exclaims in Haguenau on 21 January:

"I am decided to go on with deportations in the Reich as long as it will be necessary. In fact the number of these deportations is limitless. If need be, we shall have recourse to brutal methods such as we have used against our enemies in the Reich."

In Lorraine, families having relatives in France had the right to be deported to France. On Sunday, 10 January, at 4 a.m., and also the following days, thousands of Lorrainers were awakened.

After 16 January Bürckel declared that in future deported persons should all be sent to Germany.

In March 1943, 1,800 persons had been deported from Altkirch a "sous-prefecture" of the Haut-Rhin, eight families from Kiffis, 30 from Uningen. Fifteen families from Hegengeim had been deported to Ulm, 47 from the village of Neudorf and nine from Neuwiller had been sent to Upper Bavaria to a requisitioned monastery, where they were employed in tilling the land. These wretched people had been awakened during the night. Immediately they were forced to prepare 60 pounds of luggage, all that each one was allowed to take, and had been packed in lorries for an unknown destination. The next day the Mayor was ordered to see that the neighbours of the deported took care of the cattle and farms left behind by them during the night. The rumour spread that these expulsions had among others the object of making room for 100,000 inhabitants of the Rhineland evacuated because of the English bombing. In fact, numerous refugees from the Rhineland had already arrived at that time, and had been billeted with the inhabitants who received an allocation of two marks per day for each refugee.

The number of young men who escaped from Alsace and Lorraine amounted, we said, to 12,000 on 11 November 1942. This number has certainly considerably increased since then. As to the number of parents who have been sent to deportation following escapes, it is possible, without being in error, to fix it at a minimum of 100,000. The number of young men killed while attempting to

cape, or in consequence of a sentence passed following such attempts, certainly reaches several hundreds. Nevertheless, on 28 June 1943, the former autonomist leader, Paul Schall, wrote in the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*:

"Thousands of Alsatians, men and women, have been absorbed in the great community of the German people. The best proof of it is in the institution of compulsory military service in Alsace. It took place practically without any incident!"*

* It is necessary to add to this survey of the resistance of Alsatians and Lorrainers alike to the invader the heroism of those who, outside their native land, inaugurated or continued the fight since 1940.

One fifth of the Free French Navy was formed from young Alsatians and Lorrainers who had joined General de Gaulle, we have seen, at the cost of what dangers. The 250,000 people expelled, the 100,000 refugees of the free zone who refused to return, the 15,000 who sought refuge in North Africa have never ceased to oppose, by all means in their power, the criminal policy of desertion by Vichy.

In Clermont-Ferrand, Lyons, Algiers, London, all united in heart with those who remained in the country, have, without a moment of weakness, joined their efforts in "the same fight for the same Fatherland!"

FIFTH PART

“VERNICHTUNG FRANKREICHS” (THE ANNIHILATION OF FRANCE)

“In the long run, France has no hope left of preserving her German characteristics as an independent State, or of succeeding, by conquest, in infusing a new strength into her Germanic blood . . .

“We are running the risk of losing German blood in a foreign land. In her capacity of Germanic power unquestionably victorious, Germany, under the leadership of Prussia, has the duty of preventing such a loss of German blood.”

REIMER: *A Pan-Germanic Germany*, 1905.

THE very day the Armistice was signed “between soldiers and in honour,” the *Munchner Neueste Nachrichten* wrote :

“One of the facts which characterize the racial decadence of France is that the French nation needs German generals such as Altmeyer, Hering, Huntziger, Mittelhauser to defend her. Weygand’s mother was born in the territory of the Saar and his father was a Habsburg. Gamelin is the descendant of a Flemish family.

“This blood is used against Germany, but we are at the beginning of an era when all German and Germanic blood will be exclusively dedicated to serve in the Great German Reich.”

Either this sentence means nothing, or it forecasts—and one cannot entertain any doubt on the subject—the determination of Germany, in 1940, to recover French people said to be “Germanic,” and, according to German theorists, there were quite twenty million of them.

This same idea appears clearly in the speech delivered by von Bohle, leader of the *V.D.A.* (Association of Germans Abroad), on 11 April in Paris, in the precincts of the Chamber of Deputies. The choice of this hall to serve as a setting for the installation of the new group leader Neuedorf, of the Paris region of the Association, was not due to chance. The purpose of the Germans was to show the racial principles triumphant in the very Forum of democratic ideals. Von Bohle declared :

“In the past, Germanism has been as much divided abroad as in the Reich. At that time, men of German blood forgot their Fatherland, and put their German qualities to the service of foreigners.

“This will not happen again in future. The Germans took measures in consequence, that is to say, they began to recover ‘Germanic French people.’”

Searching for dead souls, Tchitchikov, Gogol’s hero, wandered through Russia with untiring patience. Similarly, the Germans, after the Armistice, began to search France to find as many souls as possible, not dead, but fully alive, that the Reich could claim for its own.

Long ago they had established a census of Alsatians and Lorrainers who lived outside their province of origin.

Many of these Alsatians and Lorrainers had only very vague relations with the country of their birth, such as citizens of Limousin and Auvergne might retain who had always lived in Paris.

The Germans opened in Paris, in December 1941, a Central Immigration Bureau (*Deutsche Einwanderungs Zentrale*). Its aim was to “repatriate” to Germany all persons of German race (*Volksdeutsche*), that is to say, all Alsatians,

DOCUMENT 35
BERLINER BOERSEN ZEITUNG
of February 22, 1934.

P. 90

**Donnerstag
22. Februar 1934**

Die Deutschen sind ein 100-Millionen-Volk!



**Jeder dritte Deutsche
wohnt außerhalb der Reichsgrenzen!**

Auf dem ganzen Erdball kämpft die
große deutsche Volksgemeinschaft

Trennhänder

Der 30 Millionen Auslandsdeutschen
ist der VDA!

**Freitag, den 23. Februar, ist kein
Opfertag für das Winterhilfswerk!**

Zu Deine Pflicht!

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A TRACT OF THE "LEAGUE FOR GERMANISATION
ABROAD"

Lorrainers, Luxemburgers, etc., who had settled in France before the war, even many years ago.

"Thanks to the German Central Immigration Bureau, many people will return to Alsace who have left their country a very long time ago, and who have forgotten in France their Alsatian patois."*

This is how the Bureau functioned. The *Feldkommandaturen* wrote to all Alsations and Lorrainers living in the occupied zone and informed them that a "mobile committee" would visit, on such and such a date, the chief town of the borough in which they lived. Those who were "racially Germans" would have to get in touch with it to get the necessary information. Travelling expenses and others to be refunded by the committee.

A circular was joined to this letter, emphasizing that all *Volksdeutsche* were allowed to re-enter the Reich, even those married to "French women" or the wives of "Frenchmen" or children born from a mixed marriage.

"This repatriation of persons who are not real refugees, but who, on the contrary, have lived a long time in France, must be carefully prepared" [declared the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*]. "One must assure them, in Alsace or elsewhere, a life equal to the position they are giving up. They must also be given suitable lodging accommodation; to that effect, the mobile committees make enquiries about each individual case. Each person is questioned, and the future immigrant has to fill in a slip specially prepared to that effect."

At the same time, an Establishment Office was opened in Strasburg, whose work it was to settle in Alsace and Lorraine racial Germans discovered in France. This Establishment Office, a branch of the Reconstruction Service, worked very closely with the military authorities in France.

These extraordinary steps do not appear to have been founded on compulsion, but one understands easily to what pressure *Volksdeutsche* were submitted. In case of refusal, threats, after the victory of Germany, to be treated like enemies of the people; or promises of brilliant positions in Germany, liberation for the son, grandson or relative who was a prisoner of war, to be considered in future as *Volksdeutsche*.

This was but a preliminary measure. The second consisted in broadening the meaning of the words "racial German" to the extent of including "all those who feel they belong to the German race." Such was the term used in an advertisement of the "Central Immigration Bureau in Paris."

This second manoeuvre was hardly attempted, because military events imposed more urgent tasks on the German authorities; but again, on 9 March 1943, the *Pariser Zeitung* advised racial Germans wishing to settle in Germany to apply to the special Bureau dealing with racial Germans. The advertisement adds that "as far as racial Germans born in Alsace and Lorraine are concerned, this demand is compulsory and should reach the office not later than 15 March 1943," which means that the "others" are allowed to register at a later date.

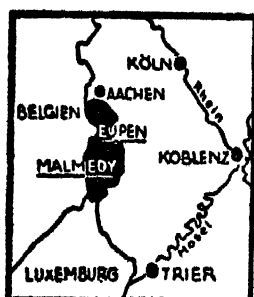
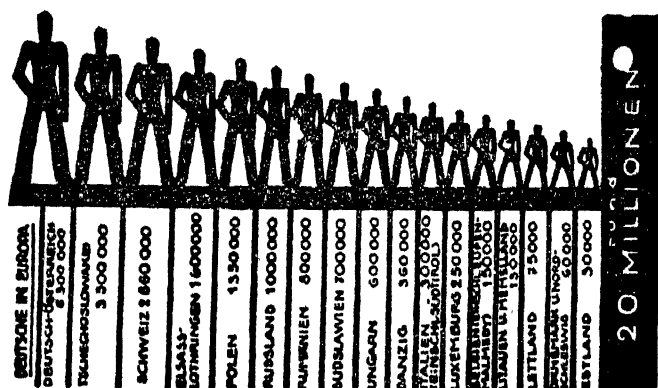
It is then with a full knowledge of the question that the clandestine paper *Vérités*, published on 25 October 1941 the following words of Schmidt, *Kreisleiter* of Paznan :

"It is now that we are harvesting the fruits of the two-thousand-years-old history of the German nation. Its outward sign will be that in five years time no one shall be treated as a European if he has not studied in Germany and known the German language."

* *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*, 14 December 1941.

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APPENDIX: DOCUMENT 36



Saaren-Malmédy

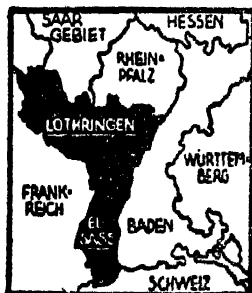
33 Mill. Deutsche wohn

Belgien 150 000

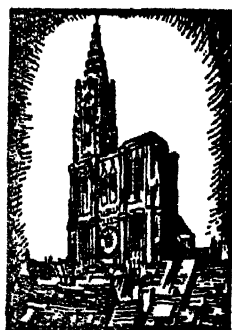
Durch das Glück des Verfalls hat an der Westgrenze des Reiches, nicht bei Aachen, die beiden rein deutschen Kreise Eupen und Malmédy vom Deutschen Reich losgerissen und gegen den Willen der Bevölkerung an Belgien gegeben. Aber auch jenseits der ehemaligen Reichsgrenze gibt es deutsche Siedlungen in Wälschland und außerdem zahlreiche Reichsdeutsche in den großen Städten Belgiens. In Belgien ist man sich besten Bewußt, daß Eupen-Malmédy ohne irgend einen Rechtsgrund vom deutschen Mutterland losgerissen worden ist. Das beweist die Tatsache, daß Belgien es nicht wagt, eine offizielle Anerkennung unter der Bevölkerung über die Zugehörigkeit des Gebietes zu verlangen. Das beweist die rücksichtslose Unterdrückung des deutschen Kulturwillens, das beweist die Verhöhnung deutscher Bezeichnungen und die Entwertung deutscher Sprachformen.

Elsaß-Lotbringen 1 600 000

Elsaß-Lotbringen ist eines deutschen Kulturland, das seit mehr als anderthalb Jahrhunderten von deutscher Bevölkerung bewohnt ist und das schon im Mittelalter Brennpunkt deutschen Kulturlebens und heimatlicher deutscher Dichter, Künstler und Geisteskräfte gewesen ist. Hier hat der deutsche Geist die Form von Sprache und Schrift geschaffen und Geistesleben und Geistesleben hat die Form von Sprache und Schrift geschaffen.



Elsaß-Lotbringen



Die Kirche in Gumbach

A TRACT OF THE “LEAGUE FOR GERMANISATION ABROAD”

There is hardly any need for recalling that this condition was one of those advocated by the 1900 Pan-Germanists "for the acquisition of German citizenship." But today Schmidt says "to be treated like a European."

The sorting out of the inhabitants of the occupied countries in various categories by eventually granting them "German citizenship" has not been formally introduced in the occupied zone. But in Alsace-Lorraine we have seen how this system functioned.

Besides, the advantages granted to collaborators in Paris or elsewhere recall this system. When they drew German food rations, which represent the double or treble of those given to French people, collaborators already enjoyed privileges which in the "Pan-Germanic State" would have been enjoyed only by "citizens."

And in Poland, where the application of German plans is always ahead of France (we have seen it with the Ostland), the classification adopted in 1900 by one of William II's spokesmen has been applied in its most rigid form.

The population was divided into three categories corresponding exactly to the 1900 formula. The first included racial Germans. They were entered in the *Deutsche Volksliste* and ultimately were to receive German citizenship. The second comprised "people susceptible of Germanization and of being granted citizenship later" (*eindeutschungsfähiger*) on certain conditions. The third group, the "non-Germans," Jews, Poles, etc., which formed the mass of slaves or helots.

Offices of the *Deutsche Volksliste* entrusted with the sorting out of the Polish population had their headquarters in Paris, the "Bureau of Racial Germans," 60 Avenue Victor Hugo.

In the light of the above quotations, it was easy to foresee the fate set aside for France after a German victory.

After the annexation of the North through the creation of a "General Flemish Government," a Thiois State or Protectorate, Germany would have proceeded to do as she had done, or attempted to do, for the descendants of Alsatians and Lorrainers, to the recruiting, in the whole of France, of descendants of the Flemings.

She would have proceeded likewise with the French of "Franconian" descendance withdrawn after the former Duchy of Lorraine had been reinstated in the Reich.

Then the turn of Autonomous Bretons would have come. Necessary statistics were ready.

Lastly Savoyards, and their descendants the Corsicans, Catalans, their sons and grandsons would have been torn from the French community.

Then, some twenty million Frenchmen, left over after this classification, would have been subjected to the régime of disintegration and servitude of which we have shown some technical methods. The right of property would have been the prerogative of certain classes of citizens. Through all kinds of measures, employers would have been put in opposition to clerks, workers, peasants, the poor with the rich, etc.

If, thanks to that Armistice signed "between soldiers, and in honour," Germany had, in 1940, gained the ultimate victory, the carrying out of such methods would then have taught those who ignored it the meaning of the German term: *Vernichtung Frankreichs* ! (The Annihilation of France !)

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

"There is ground for expecting that those responsible for a faint-hearted submission would suddenly atone for it, and, allowing themselves to be guided by human reason and experience, would henceforth change their conduct. It is they, on the contrary, who will cast away such a theory and then, the people will finally become accustomed to its slavery if the best elements of the mass do not come forward to snatch the power from the hands of an infamous and corrupt Government. In the first instance, Governments are rarely as ill-disposed as that, because their conquerors are often cunning enough to entrust them with the supervision of slaves, and these being without character, generally perform their functions at the expense of their own people with more ruthless severity than any foreign brute installed by the enemy itself in the vanquished country."

Mein Kampf, p. 666.

ON 6 June 1940 *Das Schwarze Corps*, official organ of Hitler's Black Guard, wrote :

"The France of the old Celts and of the old Northern Gauls, France guardian of old Latin civilization and of the military traditions of the Middle Ages, has long ceased to exist. Long ago the people who built Gothic cathedrals of Northern France have died. Outraged Nature avenged herself pitilessly for crimes committed by forefathers. Through laziness, love of comfort, indolence and egoism, these had forgotten to rear children. The decadence of the French has brought about consequences foreseen by Voltaire when he called his people a mixture of tigers and monkeys. That is indeed what they are now.

"What a nation ! These French, whose portraits we see in weekly periodicals, dazed, besotted, they look fixedly at us with a perverse, lascivious and sly glance. They are the scum of Europe. They are also the scum of the blackest denizens of Africa. And the German soldier, so well-mannered, is obliged to struggle with such individuals ! It is indeed an offence to animals to call beast-like the mentality and deeds of such riffraff !

"Is that *La Grande Nation* (in French in the text) ? What a frightful awakening ! For generations, the ancestors of these white negroes debased by debauchery and eaten away by all the infectious diseases of the East have persecuted and tortured us in this fine garden of Europe.

"For centuries, their policy aimed only at annihilating Germany, at lacerating her bleeding body limb by limb, at laying waste her countryside, disturbing her labour, tormenting her inhabitants with perverse cruelty, dishonouring them and robbing them of their rights.

"It was that destructive will directed against Germany which brought about the cohesion of the French nation, and it alone has made a nation of her !

"It was at the cost of our blood, at the expense of our honour, that France became *La Grande Nation*. She indulged in a shoddy splendour which she stole from other peoples.

"If at least France had in exchange made the world richer with really superior values ! If she had given remarkable examples to the world ! If only the world had been made happier at the cost of our blood and tears !

"Every time a city has been engulfed in vice and has adorned herself with the false brilliancy of stinking veneer, every time corruption has filtered into the homes of good society, every time a decadent and corrupt social class has created a 'culture', of night-bars, brothels, proprietors of immoral houses and Bohemian and depraved men of letters, a legendary *Petit Paris* has been seen to spring up in South-East Europe, as well as in the tropical forests of the colonies.

"Such was the reflection of *La Grande Nation*. Such was the radiant

culture of Paris. On the other hand, all the filthy scum vomited by countries inhabited by white, black and brown individuals, all the assassins, criminals and traitors who could not continue to live among decent nations, flocked to France. They were welcomed there, they have been incorporated in the bosom of *La Grande Nation*.

"Such is that France, the true France ! It is a totally decadent country whose decadence is in no way limited to high French society. It is a country completely rotted by Jews and negroes.

"Shall we allow this infection that one is reluctant to call a people ; shall we allow this poisonous tumour for ever discharging its pus to go on contaminating with the festering slaver of its dribbling maw a people so educated, so hard-working, and so peaceful, perhaps for centuries to come, who knows, even for thousands of years ? Shall we let it slander and torment Germany ?

"We have had enough ! Fate has spoken ! The German Army is about to seal the doom of this eternal warmonger, of this people, eternally jealous of our national existence, this robber, this plunderer who has threatened us for more than one thousand years ! He will meet with the fate he deserves !"

On 17 June 1940, that is to say, 11 days after the official organ of Hitler's Black Guard published the above article, Philippe Pétain declared to the French people :

"I have appealed tonight to the adversary to ask him if he is ready to find with us, between soldiers and in honour, the means of putting an end to hostilities" !

Now, 130 years before, Prussia having been crushed by Napoleon, as France had been in 1940, the great patriot Fichte had written an appeal to the German nation—and what an appeal ! He said :

"Courageous defence may repair all losses, and should you fall, at least you will fall with honour. On the contrary, a cowardly withdrawal will not save you. It will only afford you a short span of shameful and discreditable life, until you fall heavily, like over-ripe fruit. Such behaviour leads to an 'honourable peace' which does not even ensure peace, because it leaves in the hands of the enemy the integral power, as soon as peace is signed, to resume his designs, exactly where he had left them before the war which had forced him to a momentary interruption. . . ."

And as if he had been inspired by some forecast of the future, Fichte added these lines, which were then a warning, and today constitute a sentence :

"Peoples are not a prince's property. A prince cannot consider as his private affairs their salvation, their independence, their dignity.

"A prince who has made a mistake cannot come forward and say : 'I believed in humanity, in good faith, in justice.' An individual could be justified in answering thus. If he dies through having erred, he dies for himself alone. The prince is not allowed to speak thus, for he does not die for himself ; and he is not the only one to die.

"Let him believe in humanity, if he wishes, in his private affairs. If he makes a mistake he will be the only one to suffer. But let him not, in his belief, risk the destinies of the nation. Because it is not right that this nation, and with it perhaps other peoples, and with these peoples, perchance, the noblest acquisitions of humanity in a century-long struggle, should be trampled in the mud, simply to enable the prince to be said to have believed in the human race !"

Algiers.

ANNEX I

THE PEACE OF BRUSSELS

Otto Richard Tannenberg: A Pan-Germanist Germany. Translation Payot 1911. Page 302 and following.

"IT is towards the West that Germany is sending the bulk of her forces.

"Eight days after the declaration of war by France, four million German soldiers crossed what had been up to now the Eastern frontier of this country.

"Forty years of a Republican régime have finally deprived French youth of this last remainder of warlike ardour, spirit of sacrifice and subordination. No one wishes to submit one's 'ego' to the dictates of duty. Stupidity and cowardice are in conflict.

"Belief in treason comes again to haunt the mind of the French soldier. Fortresses of which France expected so much prove useless against the attacks of German balloons. They are just an easy target for our bombs, with the wretched soldiers crammed inside their walls.

"Northern and Eastern France have been occupied. After the successes of the German Air Fleet in the destruction of the Eastern frontier, Paris does not even attempt any defence.

"To this bad news more has been added. Italy has declared war upon France.

"The war, which has been short, but rich in various events, is followed by a peace of the most decisive importance for the whole world. Peace negotiations with France have taken place in Brussels. This town shall now be called 'Brussel,' the former 'Bruxelles' has disappeared for ever.

"Here are the stipulations of this 'Peace of Brussels':

"(1) France cedes the following counties to Germany: The Vosges with Epinal, Meurthe-et-Moselle with Nancy and Luneville, Meuse with the town of Verdun, Ardennes with Sedan, in all about 34,228 square miles. This region is now thinly populated, 138 inhabitants per square mile. This is hardly one-half of the density of Germany. The territory thus ceded to Germany in the upper course of the Meuse and Moselle has only 1,192,453 inhabitants.

"This new province will be called 'Western Franconia.' It will have Nancy for its chief town and will be the place of residence of the higher authorities, garrison of an army corps and site of a university.

"The chief towns of the district will be: for the North, Verdun on the Meuse; for the South, Epinal on the Moselle. The new Western frontier will be formed by the watershed between the Meuse and the tributaries of the right bank of the Seine.

"(2) France undertakes to shelter the population of this territory and to settle it elsewhere. The evacuation must take place within a year from the date of the signature of the Peace Treaty. The land is divided into estates of from 40 to 60 rods according to its value, and distributed as a 'gift of honour' to soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the war. Furnished houses from the towns will be also divided into dwellings of approximately equivalent value.

"Veterans from the 1870-71 war will have also a share in this repartition. The creation of the new province of Franconia is urgent to eradicate mistakes made in 1871. We were foolish enough at the time to treat on an equal footing with Germans the inhabitants of these regions because they spoke German, and to underestimate French influence. We must have in the West of Alsace-Lorraine a purely German province so as to solve, once and for all, all questions relating to Alsace-Lorraine.

"(3) France declares to agree to the amalgamation of Holland and Belgium with the German Reich. Thus will be almost re-established in Western Germany the position of the Empire at the time of Charles V. Not exactly, however, because some territories close to the banks of the Scheldt are not included. But since our Southern and Eastern frontiers impose upon us still more urgent duties, we must be satisfied with what we have obtained on the Western frontier considering present circumstances. Holland joins the Empire with her Royal House, in the capacity of a Confederate State enjoying equality of rights, in proportion to her population. She has to provide two army corps.

"(4) France endeavours to settle Walloons from Belgium in regions of her territory which are still uncultivated. This operation must take place within three years. The property and buildings belonging to Walloons and to the inhabitants of the new Province of Western Franconia on the Moselle and Upper Meuse are to be assessed by experts and paid for in vouchers on the war indemnity due by France to Germany and which will be refunded by the Republic. Territories thus evacuated on the Middle Meuse shall be occupied by German soldiers mentioned in despatches during the war. Thus after several years this 'Outpost Province' will have a purely German population.*

"The unnatural Customs barrier between the German Empire and its seaports on the Meuse and the Rhine falls through the annexation of Holland and Belgium.

"(7) France declares she will adhere to the inclusion of Luxemburg and Switzerland in the German Reich.

"(8) France agrees to modifications brought by Germany to her Southern and Eastern frontiers.

"(9) France gives up her Navy, of which the German Empire becomes the owner.

"(10) France gives up her colonies in favour of Greater Germany, with the exception of Algeria."

Before referring to the "Peace of Brussels," Tannenberg wrote:

"The victory of 1870 surprised our people, otherwise we would not have been satisfied with such a paltry indemnity . . . 'five milliards'! Note this! Wretched francs, worth 80 pfennige apiece, plus that plot of ground Alsace-Lorraine! That was, for France, the richest country in the world, far too little. We shall make progress, and astonishing the conquered nations, we shall finish our task, to the extent of making them shake with fear!"

ANNEX II

PAGANISM IN ALSACE

THE Germans distributed free of cost in all Alsatian homes a little brochure published in Germany in 1939 at the cost of 15 pfennige, and of which we print a translation below. It was entitled "Guide for Germans in Search of a God," and bore a sub-title, "What is German Faith?"

The German Faith Movement (*Deutsche Glaubensbewegung*) that the invader attempted to spread in Alsace was born from another movement (*Am heiligen Quelle der deutschen Kraft*), "To the sacred source of German Strength," founded in Munich by General Ludendorff and, above all, by his wife

* Bürckel used these very words to justify expulsions from Lorraine.

Mathilda at the time when the former Chief of the German General Staff marched at the side of Hitler and Goering as leader of the *Putsch* which was smashed as soon as it was hatched by von Karr's Bavarian Police on Feldherrn-alte Square.

The movement of German Faith celebrated, among other ceremonies, at the time of the Summer solstice, the Feasts of Fire, deep in the woods. In the centre of a clearing a pyre was lighted in the night over which leaped those faithful who did not fall in it.

They celebrated their weddings in the forest, to the sound of three violins and one clarinet. In front of a rustic altar decorated with flowers, they took the oath in the presence of an S.S. of German race, in conformity with the principles laid down in the brochure.

I have witnessed these grotesque ceremonies in a Berlin forest, where, a little further on, other adversaries of Christianity lived as Naturists, the worshippers of white cheese, until the day when the Gestapo came seeking them to imprison them.

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What is German Faith ?

"It is always possible that the Germans will turn, after the insulting epithet of 'Pagan'—an honourable title—with which they have so long been labelled by becoming the first non-Christian people of Europe."—FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

["New Faith."

"New Paganism," say the Churches by way of insult. "German Faith," we say, "is not a new religion ; it is simply the world conception born within every German and according to his customs. For one thousand years it has doubtless been buried under the foreign teaching of Christianity ; but it has been kept alive through the whole history by many great Germans and transmitted by them up to our times.

"Now that our people has found its soul again, and learns again to listen to the voice of tradition, it naturally seeks its deep and own forces in its faith.

"Religious unity must consequently follow in an irresistible manner political unity. This integral unity, ardently desired by all good Germans, can only be achieved by a German Faith free from every alien influence, whose framework should be drawn by means of the scientific notions which give a place to the natural value and strength of the German being in the very centre of its concepts."

Why we have done with Christianity.

We have done with Christianity because it is, in its essence, a purely Eastern creed, because it was born from Jewish thought and has been spread about by Jews ; because it is alien to us in its habits and in formal opposition to our Nordic ideas about the world.

Because Christianity, with its Jewish morals and its scorn of all the sacred values of life which are ours, is inimical to our customs and moral sense ; because, through the spreading of Jewish spiritual wealth and through the glorification of Judaism, it is used as a pretext for a Jewish world domination.

In short, because Christianity is but decadent Judaism. (Disraeli said : "Christianity is a form of Judaism for non-Jews.")

What has Christ to say to us ?

Christ is for us nothing more than the founder of a Jewish sect which, like the spiritual creations equally Jewish of Marxism and Bolshevism, succeeded in imposing on all peoples His international teaching.

The question of knowing whether Christ was an Aryan is unimportant for us and presents no interest. The main point, to our mind, is only His teaching and He is a Jew, at least He is a non-German.

He asserts that He is the Son of God, but there is nothing to prove it and such a statement is, for us, unbelievable. Other founders of religions have affirmed the same thing of themselves.

That is why Christ has nothing to say to us.

Is the Christian dogma necessary to us ?

The Christian dogma is not a true dogma. It teaches one to do good not for itself, but to be rewarded for it, and to avoid evil only for fear of punishment.

The teaching of Christian grace and deliverance make of man an irresponsible weakling ; "a worm humbly crawling in the dirt" before his God and his priest instead of training his freedom to show him what he must and must not do.

The Christian dogma is an Eastern and non-German creed.

Has Christianity created great values in the German people ? Certainly we possess important works of art born from the Christian influence, but is it true to say that it was Christianity which created them ?

No ! Germans are the authors of these masterpieces, created by their own Germanic ability ; they have instilled German feeling in Christian achievements of the time.

What could these men have created for their country should they have been allowed to do so in accordance with their own and free German mind ?

If we were to write a survey of one thousand years of the history of German Christianity, we should not consider as exercising a favourable and strengthening influence that part of German history which is Christian, nor the constant struggle between Church and Empire, a struggle which has lasted up to our time, nor the blood shed in vain in the Crusades, nor the innumerable pyres of Christian superstition, and the Christian "love thy neighbour," or the incessant bloody battles fought against faith, or the Thirty Years War, the greatest catastrophe in history, of which we still feel the consequences.

The soldiers from the wars of liberation, those who shed their blood for the Second Reich, the heroic *Feldgrau* of the World War, the combatants of the "Palace of Generals," and all the others who fell for the Third Reich, did not fight for Christ ! Their faith was : Germany !

The Armin, Widukind, Frederic II, Erkehard, Kopernic, Frederic the Great and all the other heroes of our history were not good Christians, they were Germans !

We are proud of them and of everything that is great and German in the past of our people.

Is the unity recently achieved by the German people threatened by the aspiration towards a German Faith ?

It is not we, the "New Pagans", who endanger the unity of the people. The Christian teaching and Christian churches have always been the constant cause of discord among our people.

We want nothing else but to put an end once and for all to these "religious squabbles" in order to become at last Free Germans, on liberated German territory, and not individuals subjected to a Pope, to international teaching, or to a foreign God !

Must one hesitate in removing from the people the religious support of Christianity ?

The support brought by Christianity is a very problematical one. Those who look towards Eternal Life, who find the goal of their life in another world, who cling to a teaching advocating the negation of life and the belief in sin, must lose their support in this world and renounce real life and its duties.

We are in no way in need of apostles of sin and lackeys of the Catholic creed ; we need healthy and active men of this world firmly standing on the ground with both feet, among their people and who, without feeling perturbed, can look life and its duties in the face.

We find, above all, our salvation and our help in the consciousness we have of the unity of our people.

What does God represent for us ?

God is not for us a Being we can picture under human form, with human qualities and weakness such as revenge, hatred, jealousy or also, according to His own whim, such as pity and magnanimity. We resent as unworthy such a representation of God.

A God who, according to the Old Testament, is repentant of His own deeds, a punishing God inflicting the most terrible and cruel eternal torments upon His own creatures—for being guilty of weaknesses created and foreseen by himself—a God who, although omnipotent and omniscient, does not prevent evil. Such a God cannot exist for us.

We deny the concept of a personification of God. It is not possible to represent God in the limits of the human form. We cannot describe God and we do not make pretence of doing so. We do not acknowledge the real being of God ; but we acknowledge God as a marvellous force with a life-long action.

God is revealed to us in all living phenomena ; in Nature, in man, in the race, in the people.

We feel in God the unfathomable mystery giving to this world a meaning, legality and a goal. In this we believe in God in the truest sense of the word.

What is for us the meaning of Life ?

It is obvious to us that the great and sublime miracle of life cannot be without aim. However, we are unable to fathom what the moving spirit is and what aim life pursues in its totality.

We admit that we are now confronted with one of the ultimate problems of life which will for ever baffle the possibilities of human knowledge.

Neither will we increase the infinite number of cheap religious dogmas and vague philosophical theories.

We know one thing, however. A man who, at the end of his life, can say : "I have done my duty. I have been useful to my people" ; such a man has fulfilled the meaning of life.

How does German Faith act in the face of Death ?

The surest means the Church possesses of maintaining mankind under her Spiritual "Knout" (whip) and to enslave it under the Priest, is to fill it with the conscious fear of death.

Many men, who in other respects are quite reasonable and do not concern themselves much, in order to live their life, with the ideas of the Church, allow themselves, through this fear of death, to be recaptured by the Priest; at the hour of death they return to the Cross.

Christianity has introduced the fear of death into the world and made of death the scarecrow of the human race!

A man who is bound to God and to Nature does not see death as the opposite of life, but as a form of life itself, as a pole in the eternal cycle of the formula "die and become", as the end of a vocation.

Death, coming at the end of a life well filled with duty, is not the enemy, but the friend of man. Death which snatches a man in the midst of his work is a cruel and immutable law which we accept peacefully. German Faith does not know the fear of death!

Do we believe in a world beyond this one?

No religious dogma or occult experience can prove the existence of another "beyond" farther than the visible world. We know nothing of a world beyond this one.

We only know the world in which we live and only believe in the duties we have towards it. That is enough.

Does Immortality exist for us?

We know of no other immortality than that which man has created himself by his actions and through his descendants.

The immortality of the people is far more important than the immortality of individuals.

Does the German Faith know prayers and religious service?

German Faith knows of no God who would allow himself to be corrupted by selfish prayer, by the offering of Mass and the fumes of incense, in order to intercede in favour of one man, and thus interfere with the laws of life.

German Faith knows no easy hope based on the help of some superior spirit from the other world; it knows no cowardly moaning for the obtaining of Grace.

The German believer knows that God is in the world and partakes of the divine strength. He helps himself and in this God helps him. (Frederic the Great: "Discard the self-pride which dazzles you in making you believe that Heaven is constantly concerned with watching over you and engrave deeply in your mind this axiom that Nature has little care for individuals, but, happily, cares for the human race, which must not disappear.")

German Faith is hard; it leaves man his free will and his responsibility in the conduct of his life.

The German believer knows only one prayer: the knowledge of his own strength which links him with God; and only one divine worship: work.

What moral help does German Faith offer?

The German believer knows he is not an individual being, but part of a Great Whole, that he is, through the living, therefore divine, links of the blood, indissolubly bound up with the community of the people from which he came.

Such knowledge gives him the clear direction of his life; to serve for a Higher Order.

*Does German Faith know the Definition of Sin ?
What is the conception of Good and Evil ?*

The German believer knows of no sin in the Christian concept, but he knows the fault, for which there is no other solution than atonement according to one's own strength.

For the German believer, good represents all that is useful to life in general, and particularly to the life of the smallest community to which he belongs, that of his people.

Evil is, in our own estimation, everything which offends the sacred laws of life and everything harmful to the community.

With what does German Faith replace the Christian "Love thy neighbour" ?

The Christian "Love thy neighbour" is based on the false teaching of the equality of all men. It is a religious commandment that one fulfils in order to obtain a reward.

The love of the neighbour means : intimate communion with the man of the same blood, obvious duty to help in a friendly way comrades in trouble. We call this "German Socialism."

The morbid humiliation of the love of an enemy for a Christian is usually alien to German thought.

How does the Christian child develop ?

The child, easily influenced and still incapable of judgment, is like wax in the hands of the teacher. That is why the spiritual domination of the Church is, above all, founded on the religious teaching of the child.

That is why we strictly reject all religious education. Therefore any particular teaching of the German Faith is out of the question.*

The adolescent must be brought up as a layman and must be able to develop freely thanks to German virtues which he has inherited. Education towards the German conception of the world must be the task of general teaching, of the family circle and of State youth organizations.

What are the Festivities celebrated by a German Believer ?

(1) Those of the forefathers which have been adulterated and adapted, thanks to astute calculation by Christianity, such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, the Solstice, freed from any Christian significance.

(2) Birth, marriage, death, from the point of view of their meaning for the community.

(3) The Great National Festivities : 30 January, Heroes Day, The Anniversary of the Führer, Labour Day, Harvest Festival, 9 November.

How does the German believer behave towards the National Socialist State ?

The German believer does not take any position as regards the National Socialist State, for he is deeply linked with it by his concept of the world and is its most loyal member.

* In the transitory period, one may here and there, according to local necessities, depart exceptionally from this principle, and teach a particular concept based on the data of Biology, ancient German History and German customs, but specialized teaching in no case must be proceeded with.

The needs of the State and of his Führer are, for him, the highest commandments.

What turn will the argument between German Faith and Christianity take ?

The German believer does not think in any way of attacking his comrades who are still under the power of the priest. He knows that the voice of the blood which, in our times, is heard, purer and stronger, will pierce the thickest fog of incense.

German Faith is in no need of using Bolshevik methods in fighting against the Churches. Through this blind hatred and underhanded threat against the New State, as well as through the unbelievable moral turpitude of their own camp, the Christian Churches are unsealing the eyes of their most faithful followers as to their true spirit, and always force other elements of the people to abandon them.

Why withdraw from the Church ?

To withdraw from the Church is the first commandment of the German who has found out that the Church and its teaching is the enemy of the people and alien to its customs.

For in doing so he reaches the Church in its most vital parts ; political power and economic foundation.

The fewer members the Churches have on their Electoral Rolls, the less their political weight will be felt. The less Churches receive taxes, the more they will be forced to restrict their organized political agitation.*

Why should we not be German Christians ?

Between the front of alien faith and that of German Faith there stands an intermediate faith ; its adepts are called "German Christians."

They are scarcely Christians any more, but they have not yet succeeded in making for themselves a path towards a pure German Faith ; they are still pondering and hesitating ; they are attracted by the appeal of the change of times, but even so they still cling to the past.

The straw to which they cling is called the Aryan Christ ; it is a completely unreachable and unproved image.

Half a step forward leads to German Christianity. A whole step means complete Freedom !

What is the duty of German Christians ?

Each German Christian who has found out that Christian teaching is but alien poison, and that its representatives thirsting for domination are the eternal war-mongers in German life, has the obvious duty of making these facts known to all, with all his might. Each German believer must hold his place in the world struggle of these days.

A great goal is at stake ; a people strong internally and sound morally ; a Germany united and free, also in her Faith !

* Citizens who have left the Church, having the world concept of the German people, consider themselves as believers in God according to the Decree of the Home Secretary of 26 November 1936. This is valid for all official registration.

ANNEX III

LIST OF THE CHANGES IN NAMES OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES
OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

| | | |
|----------------------|----|-------------------|
| Bertrange | • | Bertringen |
| Bining | • | Biningen |
| Bitche | • | Bitsch |
| Boulay | | Bolchen |
| Château-Salins | •• | Salzburg |
| Chatenois | •• | Kestenholz |
| Dabo | •• | Dagsburg |
| Dieuze | • | Duss |
| Etoimbes | •• | Welschensteinbach |
| Evrange | • | Eweringen |
| Faulquemont | •• | Falkenberg |
| Fenetrange | •• | Finstingen |
| Ferrette | •• | Pfirt |
| Fort-Louis | •• | Ludwigsfeste |
| Freland | •• | Urbach |
| Gorze | • | Gorschen |
| Labaroche | •• | Zell |
| Lapoutroie | •• | Schnierlach |
| La Petite Pierre | •• | Lutzelstein |
| Liepvre | •• | Leberau |
| L'Hopital | •• | Spittel |
| Ste. Marie aux Mines | = | Markirch |
| Masevaux | = | Massmunster |
| Moyenvic | = | Modewich |
| Morhenge | = | Morchingen |
| Moulins | = | Muhlen |
| Norroy le Veneur | = | Norringen |
| Orbay | = | Urbeis |
| Rechicourt | = | Rixingen |
| Remiremont | •• | Reimersberg |
| Ribeauville | = | Rappoltsweiler |
| Rozerieulles | = | Roseringen |
| Saint Hyppolite | = | Sankt-Pilt |
| Sarreguemines | = | Saargemund |
| Sarre-Union | = | Saar-Bukenheim |
| Tarquimpol | = | Teichenpfuhl |
| Thicourt | = | Diedrersdorf |
| Vaux | = | Wals |
| Vic-Sur-Seille | = | Wich |
| Village-Neuf | = | Neudorf |
| Voippy | = | Wappingen |

ANNEX IV

PROTEST BY THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
THE MOBILIZATION OF ALSATIANS AND LORRAINERS FOR
THE GERMAN ARMY

WHILE Vichy has allowed the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to take place without raising any protest, and the mobilization of the French Rhineland population in the German Army, Fighting France has never ceased to denounce the crimes of the enemy and at the beginning of September 1942 the National French Committee broadcast the following solemn protest :

"After having, in the middle of the war, proclaimed the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, expelled and plundered a great number of inhabitants, taken the most severe measures of Germanization, the Reich now compels Alsatians and Lorrainers, declared to be 'Germans,' to serve in the German Army against their own fellow-countrymen and against the Allies of France.

"The National Committee, sponsor of the integrity and unity of France and guardian of the principle of the right of the peoples, protests to the civilized world against these new attempts committed in violation of international conventions against the will of the population profoundly loyal to France.

"It proclaims the inviolability of the right of Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French Commonwealth."

